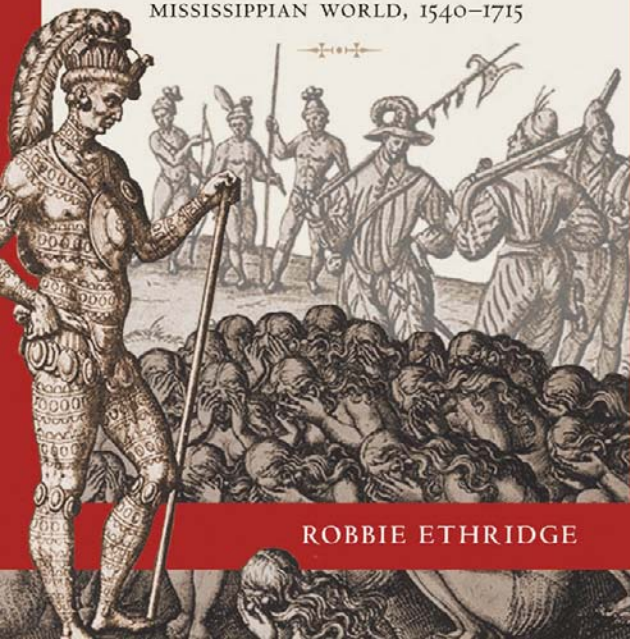


# FROM CHICAZA TO CHICKASAW

THE EUROPEAN INVASION  
AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE  
MISSISSIPPIAN WORLD, 1540-1715

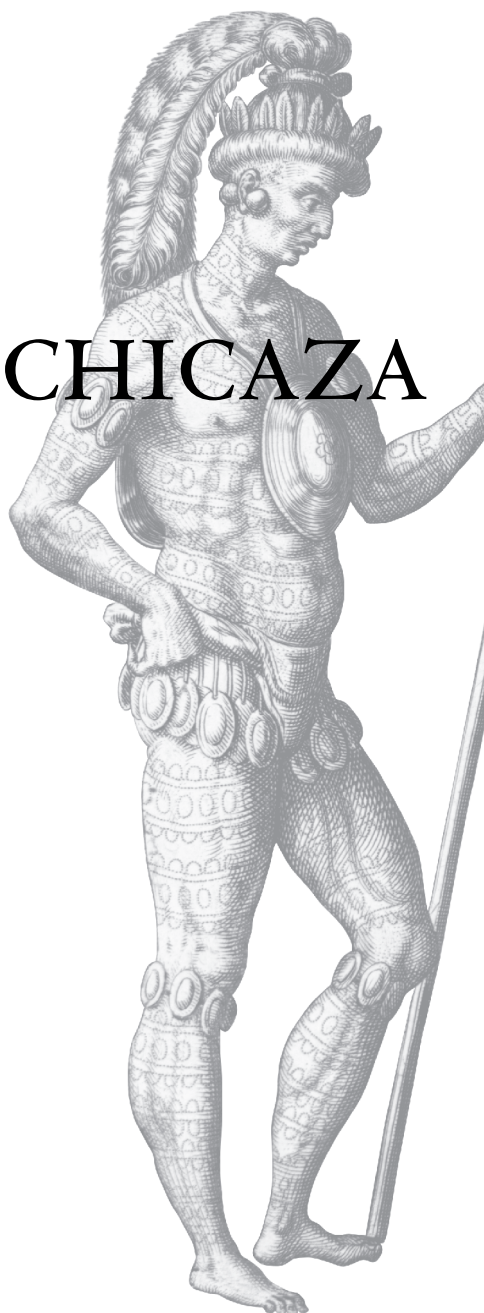


ROBBIE ETHRIDGE

# *F*ROM CHICAZA TO CHICKASAW



# FROM CHICAZA



ROBBIE ETHRIDGE



# TO CHICKASAW

*The European Invasion and the Transformation  
of the Mississippian World, 1540–1715*

*The University of North Carolina Press* CHAPEL HILL

*This book was published with the assistance of the Fred W. Morrison  
Fund for Southern Studies of the University of North Carolina Press.*

© 2010 The University of North Carolina Press

All rights reserved

Designed and set in Garamond Premier Pro with MT Centaur by Rebecca Evans.  
Manufactured in the United States of America. The paper in this book meets the  
guidelines for permanence and durability of the Committee on Production Guide-  
lines for Book Longevity of the Council on Library Resources. The University of  
North Carolina Press has been a member of the Green Press Initiative since 2003.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Ethridge, Robbie Franklyn, 1955–

From Chicaza to Chickasaw : the European invasion and the transformation  
of the Mississippian world, 1540–1715 / Robbie Ethridge.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-8078-3435-0 (cloth : alk. paper)

1. Chickasaw Indians—History—16th century. 2. Chickasaw Indians—History—  
17th century. 3. Indians of North America—First contact with Europeans—  
Southern States. 4. Southern States—History—Colonial period, ca. 1600–1775.  
5. Mississippian culture—Southern States. I. Title.

E99.C55E84 2010 976.004'97386—dc22 2010026910

cloth 14 13 12 11 10 5 4 3 2 1

*For Charlie Hudson*

*This page intentionally left blank*

## *Contents*

*Acknowledgments* xi

*Introduction* 1

- 1 Chicaza and the Mississippian World, ca. 1540–1541 11
- 2 The Battle of Chicaza and Mississippian Warfare, ca. 1541 42
- 3 The Aftermath of Soto, ca. 1541–1650 60
- 4 The English Invasion and the Creation of a Shatter Zone,  
ca. 1650–1680 89
- 5 Eastern Shock Waves on Western Shores, ca. 1650–1680 116
- 6 Western Expansion of the Shatter Zone, ca. 1680–1700 149
- 7 European Imperialism and the Intensification of the  
Colonial Indian Slave Trade, ca. 1700–1710 194
- 8 The Emergence of the Colonial South, ca. 1710–1715 232

*Epilogue* 255

*Notes* 257

*Bibliography* 305

*Index* 335



*This page intentionally left blank*

## *Figures, Maps, and Table*

### FIGURES

- 1 Moundville as it may have appeared in the thirteenth century 14
- 2 Hypothetical model of Mississippian Indians' conception of the cosmos 19
- 3 The Soto route from Coosa to Apafalaya as recounted by Rangel and showing the Mississippian provinces of Coosa, Tascalusa, Mabila, and Talisi 27
- 4 Copper repoussé plate depicting Birdman 45
- 5 Engraving depicting a Late Mississippian chief going to war with his army 52
- 6 The paramount chiefdom of Coosa 63
- 7 Chickasaw settlement in the Black Prairie from the fifteenth through the eighteenth centuries 76
- 8 The shattering of the Carolina piedmont, ca. 1650–1680 107
- 9 Chickasaw settlements near present-day Tupelo, ca. 1680–1720 223

### MAPS

- 1 The Mississippian World, ca. 1540, Showing the Route of Hernando de Soto 13
- 2 Slave Raiding and Some Indian Population Movements, ca. 1550–1650 65

- 3 The American South, ca. 1650 72
- 4 Slave Raiding and Some Indian Population Movements,  
ca. 1650–1680 95
- 5 The American South, ca. 1680 101
- 6 Slave Raiding and Some Indian Population Movements,  
ca. 1680–1700 156
- 7 The American South, ca. 1700 158
- 8 Slave Raiding and Some Indian Population Movements,  
ca. 1700–1715 208
- 9 The American South, ca. 1715 245

#### TABLE

- 1 Timeline of European Colonization in Eastern  
North America 91

## *Acknowledgments*

This book would not have been possible without the work of Charles Hudson, his colleagues, and all those they inspired through their reconstruction of the Mississippian world of the American South at the time of European contact. Their reconstruction provides a baseline from which scholars can now measure and understand the impact of the European invasion on Native polities that existed in the sixteenth-century Native South and gain a better grasp on how the colonial South came to be. I hope this volume in some way demonstrates how current scholars can build upon the pathbreaking work they did and the work they continue to do. Although their work preceded my entry into the scholarship, I am quite familiar with their achievements, since Charlie Hudson was my academic mentor at the time and afterward. I have long since graduated, but in many ways, Charlie retains that role in my life to this day. His influence on my scholarship and life has been profound, and I dedicate this volume to him in gratitude and with love.

I gratefully acknowledge funding for this research provided by a Mellon Sabbatical Fellowship from the American Philosophical Society, a research grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, and two Faculty Research Fellowships from the Office of Research and Sponsored Programs at the University of Mississippi.

I would like to extend a special thanks to Mark Simpson-Vos and the staff at the University of North Carolina Press. Many thanks to the staff at the Archives Nationales d'Outre Mer in Aix-en-Provence, France, who, with much charm, wit, and patience, attended to my every request. I would also like to thank Kirk Perry and Richard Green of the Chickasaw Nation for taking

their time to carefully read the manuscript and offer their insights on it. They are models of fruitful collaborations between scholars and Indian nations and, more important, a reminder that what gets researched and written matters to contemporary Native people. I extend a special thanks to Julie Barnes Smith and Wendy Cegielski for the use of their illustrations.

I would like to thank the readers of this manuscript, James Brooks and Greg Waselkov, for their insights, support, and careful critiques. I also owe a special thanks to Alan Gallay and Shep Krech, whose continued interest in and support of my work means much to me. Jay Johnson and Maureen Meyers always have my back, and I am grateful for their friendship, expertise, and conversations. I also give many thanks to my colleagues who have shown interest in this work over the years, who inspire me, and who enliven my life and scholarship in ways too numerous to mention. They are Annette Trefzer, Rob Beck, Chris Rodning, David Moore, Patrick Livingood, Patricia Galloway, Greg O'Brien, Jamey Carson, Sheri Shuck-Hall, Angela Pulley Hudson, Ned Jenkins, Alice Kehoe, Mike Green, Theda Perdue, Katherine Braund, Dan Usner, Helen Tanner, Claudio Saunt, Steven Hahn, Joshua Piker, Bret Rushforth, David Chang, Ned Blackhawk, Christina Snyder, Marvin Jeter, John Worth, Gary Dunham, and Eric Bowne.

Finally, and always, I am grateful to my family and friends. For everything they do, I thank Kirsten Dellinger, Jeff Jackson, Laurie Cozad, Minjoo Oh, Paige West, J. C. Saylor, Doug Hollingsworth, Jimmy Davidson, Tina and Vic Chesnutt, Charles Ratliff, Ginna Grant, Jean Spencer, and Starr Wright. With much love, I thank my husband, Denton Marcotte; my sister, Nonie, and her husband, Rusty Dunn; Ryan Duncan; my stepchildren, Ian Marcotte and Shayla Marcotte; and of course Kaden.

# *F*ROM CHICAZA TO CHICKASAW



*This page intentionally left blank*

## *Introduction*

This book is about the history of the American South during the first 200 years of European colonization. It is a story about the collision of two asymmetrical worlds—the emerging modern world of Europe and its American colonies and the centuries-old Mississippian world of the American South. In the telling of this history, Native polities and people, rather than European ones, take central place. Also centered is the attempt to reconstruct something about the lives of Southern Indians between the time of the earliest Spanish exploration in the sixteenth century to the early decades of the eighteenth century (ca. 1540–1715 C.E.). Within this large, regional context, our focus through these tumultuous years is on the Chickasaw Indians. Admittedly, the story sometimes gets quite sketchy because of limited historical and archaeological evidence, and our focus shifts at these times to other peoples in the South, where the evidence is stronger and the reconstruction clearer. Still, the Chickasaw story can serve as an introduction to a largely unfamiliar historical terrain of people and places of the early contact-era South.

The concept of a “world” is not new. A “world” is a geographic area and a historical era including various polities within that time and space and the network of political, economic, cultural, and social relationships that exist between them. This network of relationships includes phenomena such as war, peace, détente, hierarchy, power, subordination, dominance, exchanges, trade, and so on. A “world” is not a discrete geographical unit because its borders can be porous and it can be connected to quite distant places. The “Atlantic world” is a well-known world construct, as are the “Mediterranean



world” and the “modern world system.” But the “Mississippian world” is a lesser-known one. In the early sixteenth century in the South, Indian life was lived out in a purely Indian world, whereas in 1715 it was lived out on the edge of an expanding and conflict-ridden European world and in a new social landscape that included not only Indians but also Europeans and Africans. The meeting of these two worlds was not peaceful or orderly, and it was marked by warfare, violence, struggle, disease, and hardship for all involved. And there can be little doubt that eventually the European world prevailed over the Mississippian world. But the meeting also opened new opportunities, new possibilities, and new ways of doing things for both Natives and newcomers. Over the course of time, the result was a transformation of both worlds and a melding of them into a single, colonial one.

Scholars now understand that the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were a time of profound social transformation among the Native people of the southern United States. The people who stood on either side of this great transformational divide were organized into quite different kinds of societies. The Indians of the eighteenth-century South are familiar to most people, and their descendants are recognized today as Creek, Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Catawba, and so on. We now know that these societies formed out of survivors of the polities of the precontact Mississippian world—the Coosa, Mabila, Pacaha, Chicaza, Cofitachequi, and others—as they broke apart in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. We still do not have a completely adequate vocabulary to describe the Native societies of the eighteenth century. They have been called “confederacies,” “tribes,” “nations,” and so on. We now generally call them “coalescent societies” because they were all, to varying degrees, coalescences of people from different societies, cultures, and languages who relocated and banded together after the fall of individual polities.<sup>1</sup> The eighteenth-century Chickasaws were one such coalescent society.

On the other side of this historical divide, at the time of earliest European contact, the ancestors of the eighteenth-century Chickasaws and most other Southern Indians were organized into what archaeologists call “chiefdoms,” which are a particular kind of political and social type characterized by a ranked social order of elites and commoners. Chiefdoms were the prevailing political unit in much of the South during the time known as the Mississippi Period (900 C.E. to 1700 C.E.). The people of this era built the earthen pyramidal mounds that one can still see throughout much of the South and Midwest. In 1540–41 the Spanish explorer Hernando de Soto spent a winter

at Chicaza, a chiefdom in present-day northeast Mississippi. Archaeologists think that this chiefdom likely was home to some of the ancestors of the eighteenth-century political and social group known as the Chickasaws. This book, then, is the history of the fall of Chicaza and the Mississippian world and the geopolitical restructuring that took place as the survivors made a place for themselves in a new, colonial world.

This is not to say that Native southern peoples had not gone through other transformations, historical changes, and large and small events before Europeans came on the scene. For example, they were shaped by the events that led to the organization of the Mississippian world around 900 C.E. In 1400 C.E. they survived the collapse of the first large-scale Mississippian political entity known today as Cahokia. A series of chiefdoms experienced the failures of their political orders in the fifteenth century. Precontact Mississippian history, like postcontact history, undoubtedly was full of political intrigue, diplomacy, war, peace, love, and periods of change and upheaval, as well as periods of stability. In addition to these transformations, I subscribe to Charles Hudson's assertion that there are some cultural continuities in southern history that reach back at least into the Early Mississippian Period and perhaps beyond it.<sup>2</sup> In these years, Southern Indian history was marked by monumental, transformative, and world-shaping events. One can argue that contact between the Mississippian and European worlds was another such monumental event and "foundational experience" in Southern Indian history.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, to understand the transformation of not only the Chickasaws but also of other Southern Indians after the European invasion, we must take a broad look across the whole of the South, getting a sense of the full impact of early European contact and the early years of colonialism.

The collapse of the Mississippian world was not sudden. It took almost 200 years to run its course. This collapse was not caused by a mere exercise of European military might; indeed, Natives participated in and, in some cases, helped precipitate it. Nor did the collapse extinguish Native peoples. Although thousands of Indians died and were enslaved and virtually all Native polities were destroyed, there were survivors who regrouped and reformed new kinds of polities. They reorganized and restructured their lives, and in the process, along with Europeans and Africans, they created a new geopolitical landscape that was securely in place soon after 1715.

The disturbances in the early South between 1540 and 1715 have not been difficult to identify. The archaeological and documentary evidence attests to the disappearance of Native chiefdoms, movements of people into tightly

compacted and heavily fortified towns, a dramatic loss of life, multiple migrations and splintering of groups, the coalescence of some groups, the disappearance of many others, and an overall decline in the elaborateness of Native artistic life. Furthermore, scholars are beginning to understand that the collapse and transformation of southern Native societies were not uniform across space and time. Therefore, we must place this history within the context of the full transformation of the Mississippian world and within an interpretive framework against which each instance of collapse and reformation can be placed.

I have begun constructing such a framework, one that has come to be known as the “Mississippian shatter zone.” The Mississippian shatter zone, as I have defined it elsewhere, was a large region of instability in eastern North America that existed from the late sixteenth century through the early eighteenth century. It was created by the combined conditions of: (1) the inherent structural instability of polities in the Mississippian world and the inability of chiefdoms to withstand the full force of colonialism; (2) the introduction of Old World pathogens and the subsequent serial disease episodes and loss of life; (3) the inauguration of a nascent capitalist economic system by Europeans through a commercial trade in Indian slaves and animal skins; and (4) the intensification and spread of violence and warfare through the Indian slave trade and especially through the emergence of militaristic Native slaving societies who sought a larger share of the European trade.<sup>4</sup> The Mississippian shatter zone is intended as a “big-picture” device for conceptualizing and explaining the destabilization and restructuring of southern Native societies by offering a regional framework for integrating events and people from the Mississippi Valley to those on the Atlantic coast into a single interactive world.

These are some of the factors that went into creating the Mississippian shatter zone, and as such they are particular to the American South at a particular time. The concept of the Mississippian shatter zone thus serves as a descriptive shorthand for this particular time and place. However, one should not lose sight of the fact that this shattering occurred when two asymmetrical worlds met. Europe, in the sixteenth century, was more formidable, more complex, more extractive of natural resources, more able to accumulate knowledge through literacy, and had more advanced weaponry than the sixteenth-century Mississippian world. Above all, in the sixteenth century, capitalism was emerging as a powerful economic engine that would drive European exploration and colonization on a worldwide scale, giving to Europe powerful economic resources. The Mississippian shatter zone, then,

may have been but one of several shatter zones created when the European world collided with other Native worlds.<sup>5</sup>

The history presented here is situated within the fall of the Mississippian world and the subsequent restructuring of its survivors, which sets the chronological parameters of this volume from 1540 to 1715. We are beginning to understand that the Mississippian world did not fall asunder in one fell swoop. Rather, there was a more piecemeal disintegration and reorganization, as chiefdoms fell and people regrouped—and sometimes regrouped again—over the full span of almost 200 years. The remnants of some Mississippian chiefdoms, such as the Apalachee, Natchez, and Caddo, endured at least partially into the eighteenth century. Others, such as the paramount chiefdom of Coosa, fell by 1600. Such a broad temporal parameter is necessary to cover the complete collapse of the Mississippian world and the full reorganization of the geopolitical landscape that followed. This book, then, is a study of the people living in the Mississippian shatter zone and their ability to survive, and even at times take advantage of, the upheavals of early European colonization. In the process, they were transformed from precontact Mississippian political and social entities such as Chicaza, Coosa, Tascalusa, Guachoya, and Quigualtam to the postcontact, globally situated political and social entities known as the Chickasaw, Creek, Choctaw, and so on.

Keeping an analytical eye on the Chickasaws, we thus begin with Chicaza at the time of the Soto *entrada* (1540)—certainly an important event at the time that it occurred, although the people of Chicaza could not have foreseen how foundational this event would be to their subsequent history. We end in 1715 with the Yamasee War—an Indian uprising that engulfed much of the South—and a few years before the destruction of the Natchez, the last standing Mississippian chiefdom. This is not to say, however, that 1715 marks the end of the Chickasaws and other Southern Indian stories. Indeed, the Chickasaws and all the others maintained a prominent presence in southern and American history throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Chickasaw Nation and other Southern Indian groups still exist today, and although they treasure their history and cultural past, they are modern people in a modern world, shaped by and shaping history.<sup>6</sup>

### *The Nature of the Evidence*

Examining the years between 1540 and 1715 C.E., or the contact era as some call it, requires researchers to be comfortable combining archaeological,

documentary, and oral evidence. One reason for this is that at the time of contact, the Indians of North America were oral (or preliterate) societies. They did not have a system of writing. They passed down oral traditions that recounted stories about their pasts, embedding knowledge and accounting for much of life and the world, both sacred and mundane. Many of these stories were written down by EuroAmericans in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. Some are still recited today, albeit in more modern forms and reflecting modern concerns.<sup>7</sup> Scholars have analyzed these stories for what they can tell us about the Indian past. For example, oral traditions are the best sources for understanding how Native people conceived of and understood their world, and scholars have reconstructed something of historic belief systems and understandings from them. Some have used them to interpret social mores and values of the past and present. Others have used origin stories to shed light on migrations, politics, and, in the South, the formation of some coalescent societies.<sup>8</sup> Still, these stories collectively constitute only a small piece of historical evidence.

Documentary evidence, on the other hand, is more ample, but it poses some particular problems for researching Indian history. For example, even though many Indian men and women learned to read and write European languages over the centuries after contact and, in the case of the Cherokees, invented their own writing system for their Native language, the number of historical documents written by Natives is slim compared to the quantities left by EuroAmericans. Documents containing information on Indian life and affairs, then, usually were written by EuroAmericans who were either in Indian country or dealing with Indians for various reasons. Such documents are typically the resources for historians, and they have been used with great success in reconstructing aspects of the American past. Historians have devised rigorous methods for scrutinizing the documentary evidence for biases, misunderstandings, and falsehoods; for assessing their reliability; and for finding corroborating evidence. But the information they contain on Indian life is often faulty and imprecise because there was an unevenness in the writers' access to Indian life and in their understanding of what they saw of Indian life. Therefore, the documents do not always give us a clear picture of Indian life, and Native voices are typically rare or absent.

Archaeology, likewise, has developed rigorous methods for reconstructing the past lives of people. Many archaeologists studying the contact and later eras have become proficient in the use of documents and oral traditions; still, they examine mostly artifacts or material remains from people of the past.<sup>9</sup>

Because of the nature of material evidence, archaeology speaks best about the economic and material basis of life. Archaeology also gives us the spatial context of a people's life—how they moved and situated themselves across a landscape. Archaeology also is good at delineating the long-term, persisting structures of life. In many cases, material remains can also reflect something about beliefs and ideologies. Since religious and political beliefs were often blended into everyday life, archaeologists find both everyday and ceremonial objects decorated with designs that reflect religious and political ideologies. By studying the artistic traditions of a people, then, archaeologists can tell us something about how people conceive of the universe and their place in it. Despite the amount of information that archaeology can provide, however, it cannot give us the full measure of a people's life.

In addition, in the South the quantities of archaeological and documentary evidence are inversely proportional. In other words, the amount of written records containing information on Southern Indians decreases as one goes further back in time, while the archaeological data increases. A relatively large number of documents exist from the twentieth and nineteenth centuries, with fewer and fewer coming from the eighteenth, seventeenth, and sixteenth centuries. Since the Indians did not possess a system of writing, no documents exist for any time before the sixteenth century. Conversely, there is much more purely archaeological information on the Mississippi Period Indians than on the seventeenth-, eighteenth-, and nineteenth-century Southern Indians.

The uneven nature of this evidence is reflected in this book. We begin by using much archaeological information and the four accounts from the Soto expedition, and we end by using some oral evidence; much documentary evidence from the French, British, and Spanish colonial archives; and a relatively small but growing amount of archaeological work on late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Southern Indians. Because of the nature of this evidence, the Indian perspective and an understanding of how they made sense of their changing world is also uneven in this account. Indian historical figures, likewise, are not always fully represented here. Unlike European historical actors, individual Indians, with a few notable exceptions, do not show up in the documentary record until around 1730, and this history covers the years between 1540 and 1715. Unfortunately, archaeology usually cannot give us a sense of human identities.

I also chose not to interview contemporary Chickasaws or other Native people because the deep history covered here is not within living memory of

modern people. Even so, I understand that history, no matter how long ago, shaped subsequent events and can still impact the lives of modern people. Modern Chickasaws, indeed most American Indians today, are well aware of their histories and have much to say about them, and their perspectives challenge and broaden historical and anthropological interpretations. These challenges have shown us that the standards of and evidence for historical and anthropological inquiry are not without their shortcomings and problems. I have endeavored to be mindful of such challenges in this book, and I have tried to bring a critical anthropological lens to the evidence and thereby discern patterned lifeways. And, using a social-history approach, I can identify the large and small historical forces at play, as well as the fashions, trends, and other epiphenomena at play during the years covered here and the enduring, long-term structures and beliefs—both indigenous and introduced—around which everything else revolved. Using a regional approach, I can also patch small bits of evidence of the Chickasaw past into a larger, emerging history of the colonial South in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In this way, then, I have been able to reconstruct something about how Chickasaw life, and indeed much of the South, changed over these 200 years.

### *On Transformation*

Anthropologist Charles Hudson once called the first two centuries of European contact “the forgotten centuries.”<sup>10</sup> At the time of his writing (1994), these centuries did indeed seem forgotten because most archaeologists concentrated on the so-called prehistoric eras, and historians labored in the document-rich eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Since then, and thanks to the work of Hudson and his colleagues on early Spanish exploration of the South, scholars have gone far in understanding the contact era, thus bridging this precontact and historic divide of “forgotten centuries.”<sup>11</sup> This work is multifaceted. Contemporary scholars are examining disease and commercial slaving as causes of the Mississippian collapse and evaluating how these forces helped to shape subsequent social and political reorganizations. Some are turning their attention to the diffusions, amalgamations, and social transformations that led to the formation of the coalescent societies of the eighteenth century. They are mapping the widespread dislocations and migrations that occurred after the fall of the chiefdoms and identifying which Native groups coalesced together. They are also discerning whether or not there were any

precontact precursors to postcontact alliances. Archaeologists and ethno-historians are beginning to distinguish between coalescent societies and to recognize other social types that formed after the fall of the Mississippian world. Some are concerned with tracking the cultural continuities from the Mississippian into the Historic Period. One of the most exciting developments has been the historicizing of prehistory; that is, scholars have begun to understand the Mississippi Period not only in terms of trends and processes, rises and falls, but also in terms of the histories of individual chiefdoms and their place in the Mississippian world. Although much remains to be done, the “forgotten centuries” are no longer forgotten. Indeed, they are now well within our historical field of vision.

Untangling exactly what changed and what continued, however, is not the central question here. Rather, the task at hand is to understand Native life in its colonial context and to elucidate and explore the tensions that developed as people negotiated and created both change and continuity in their lives. In this way, change, continuity, Native agency, and colonial history are synthesized. The Chickasaws and other Southern Indians of the early eighteenth century were not simply sixteenth-century people moved forward in time. Nor were they a people busily fastening European traits onto an ancient sociological and cultural frame. They, like all people, were shaped by the large and small forces of history; they were a synthesis of their past, present, and future; they were of the old and of the new. They were a new kind of people, living in a new kind of world that, like other parts of the world at the time, was continually being shaped and reshaped by the global economy, changing indigenous cultural elements, and the harsh realities of new opportunities afforded by European colonization and expansion.

Transformation, then, is a fundamental aspect of history.

### *A Note on the Maps*

I have drafted a series of nine maps to accompany the text. There are five maps representing the social and political landscape of the American South at certain points in time, specifically ca. 1540, ca. 1650, ca. 1680, ca. 1700, and ca. 1715. These alternate with four maps depicting documented slave raids and some Indian population movements during certain years, specifically ca. 1550–1650, ca. 1650–1680, ca. 1680–1700, and ca. 1700–1715.<sup>12</sup> The end result is a series of maps alternating between a point in time, a period of slaving and migrations, and a subsequent point in time. I have intended the maps



to be not only an aid to the reader in navigating through an unfamiliar time and place but also a way of capturing something of the sociopolitical dynamics of the era. These maps are by no means the final word on slave raiding and Indian population movements between 1540 and 1715. Rather, I understand this series of maps to be an initial attempt to cartographically represent a tremendously complex episode in early American history.

## CHAPTER I

### *Chicaza and the Mississippian World, ca. 1540–1541*

On Tuesday, December 14, 1540, Indian warriors gathered on the bluffs looking down on the river of Chicaza. There, they awaited the arrival of the warriors of a powerful and threatening foreigner. Their own principal leader had heard about a foreign lord who was en route to his province, Chicaza. He had other intelligence about these foreigners, too. He knew that the foreign force had come close to defeat at the town of Mabila in a surprise attack led by the powerful lord Tascalusa only a few months earlier. He knew that they had strange, big deer that the men rode, making them formidable in battle. He knew that their *mico* (chief) demanded respect and tribute from whomever he encountered. He knew that they carried knives, arrow points, and other implements made out of a metal much harder than copper. And although etiquette would require him to act with diplomatic protocol if they met, the leader knew that this new lord did not come in peace. So, upon receiving news of the foreigners' approach to the river of Chicaza, which constituted the eastern boundary of his polity, the leader met with his council, military officers, and war captain to debate and decide on a course of action. They opted to meet the foreigners where the road they were following crossed the river into Chicaza; there, they would make a stand to prevent the foreigners from marching into their province.

The river of Chicaza is known today as the Tombigbee River, and the confrontation between the Indians of Chicaza and the army of Spanish explorer Hernando de Soto likely took place around present-day Columbus, Mississippi.<sup>1</sup> Parts of the above scenario are, of course, highly inferential. The chronicles of the Soto expedition describe the two opposing armies facing off

at the border of Chicaza, but what the warriors of Chicaza knew about Soto and his army prior to this event was not recorded. The chroniclers, however, do tell us that Indian men were at the bluffs when the Spaniards arrived and that they threatened that if the Spaniards were to attempt a crossing, they would be met with force. We also know that Chicaza's warriors were armed and alert, and they planted many war banners on the bluffs, signaling to the offending army their intentions. The standoff lasted three days.

This encounter came in the second year of Hernando de Soto's expedition of conquest and "discovery" through much of the American South. Soto and his army were one of the first—and one of the last—European expeditions to witness the Mississippian world of Native southerners (Map 1).<sup>2</sup> The next Europeans into the interior South came over 100 years later, and what they saw was a world in the process of collapsing and restructuring. Therefore, we begin this history at the time of the first encounters between the people of Chicaza and Europeans. In so doing, we set a benchmark by which we can evaluate and delineate the many changes that took place once the Mississippian world began to falter and finally fall. It also provides a benchmark by which we can more clearly understand the restructuring that occurred after the fall.

"Mississippian" is the name archaeologists use to designate the time period between roughly 900 C.E. and 1700 C.E., during which southern peoples organized themselves into a particular kind of political organization termed "chiefdom."<sup>3</sup> "Mississippian world" refers to the fact that none of these chiefdoms existed in isolation. Although the Mississippian milieu was often one of much political strife and conflict, the chiefdoms were tied together in myriad ways, such as through trade, travel, information, marriage ties, and exchange of war captives.

Although it was not the only form of political organization extant in the Mississippian world, the chiefdom was the dominant political type. A chiefdom is a political order with basically two social ranks determined by kinship affiliations: ruling elite lineages and nonelite lineages. Generally speaking, the members of the chiefly lineage were considered related to supernatural beings, which gave them religious sanction for their status, prestige, and po-

MAP 1 (opposite) The Mississippian World, ca. 1540, Showing the Route of Hernando de Soto (Note: the gray areas represent known political and social affiliations or known archaeological phases; town names appear in their approximate locations. Adapted from Charles Hudson, "The Hernando de Soto Expedition, 1539–1543," 1996. Courtesy of Charles Hudson.)

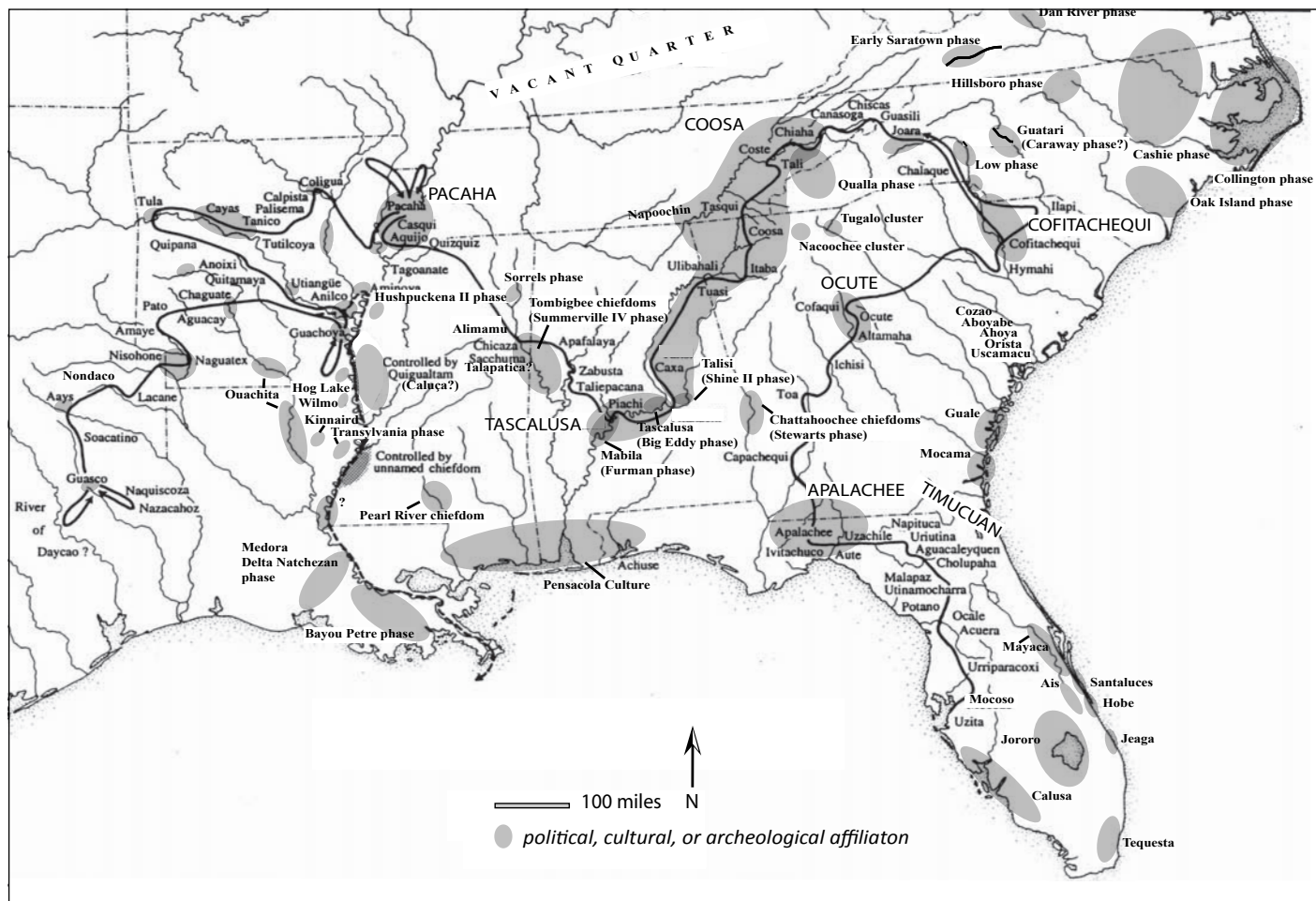




FIGURE 1 Moundville as it may have appeared in the thirteenth century (From Vincas P. Steponaitis and Vernon J. Knight Jr., “Moundville Art in Historical and Social Context,” in *Hero, Hawk, and Open Hand: American Indian Art of the Ancient Midwest and South*, edited by Richard F. Townsend and Robert V. Sharp, 168 [Figure 3]. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press for the Art Institute of Chicago, 2004. © 2004 Steven Patricia. Reproduced with permission of Steven Patricia and the Art Institute of Chicago.)

litical authority. The political and religious center of a chiefdom was a large town with an earthen temple mound fronted by a large plaza and often surrounded by other mounds (Figure 1). Neighborhoods of the common people typically surrounded the town center. The mico lived atop the temple mound, while lesser people of the chiefly lineage resided on the smaller mounds.<sup>4</sup>

Archaeologists are uncertain about the extent and nature of a mico's power. They generally agree that the chiefly elite constituted a centralized political body and that those members held permanent inherited offices of high rank and authority, with the mico holding the highest office. The mico had the

authority to settle disputes, punish wrongdoers, make judgments, and command tribute, usually in the form of surplus production and labor. But it appears that an elite's consolidation of power varied from one chiefdom to another. In some cases, the *mico* held coercive if not autocratic power and consulted only with others of the elite lineage; but in other cases, the *mico* exerted influence and authority but not real power, and he or she deliberated with local town councils in addition to the elite lineage when making decisions.<sup>5</sup>

Commoners lived in neighborhoods situated around the mounds and public plaza and also in farming villages strung up and down a river valley that constituted the heart of a chiefdom's territory. These farming villages provided the foundation of the Mississippian economy, which was based on intensive corn agriculture. The common folks farmed, fished, hunted, and gathered wild plant stuffs for food and other materials necessary for daily life. In addition, the chiefly elite sponsored traders who maintained far-flung trade networks through which they exchanged goods such as copper, shell, mica, high-grade stones like flint, and other materials, which were then fashioned by elite-sponsored artisans into emblems of power, prestige, and religious authority.

A chiefdom was largely self-sufficient economically, in that the people could feed, house, cloth, and defend themselves using resources available within their boundaries. The exceptions to this were salt and hoes made out of particularly good stone. These items were necessary to daily life, and they were found in only a few places and then traded throughout the South. Likewise, prestige goods made out of hard-to-get materials such as shell and fine stone circulated widely. Although the circulation of salt, hoes, and prestige goods was a vital part of the Mississippian world, it is unlikely that their exchanges served to integrate the Mississippian chiefdoms into a single, unified economic system.<sup>6</sup> Within the chiefdom, the economy was one of household or community-level self-sufficiency; people made their living from farming, hunting, gathering of wild plant foods, and using local resources such as wood, cane, and other raw materials for buildings and clothing. And although these communities were often engaged in trade, they were not dependent on it.

In the more autocratic polities, the chiefly elites were exempt from mundane activities such as farming, and they received tribute from the citizens in the form of foodstuffs, exotic goods, animal skins, stone, and other raw and finished materials. In the less-centralized chiefdoms, elites probably engaged in subsistence activities such as farming and hunting, but they still received

tribute from the nonelites. In both cases, the mico used tribute goods for themselves and their families as well as to mediate arguments, garner allies, give succor to villages who found themselves low on resources, and otherwise maintain control and order over the towns and villages in the chiefdom.

The elite had obligations to the rank and file. In addition to providing resources in times of need, the mico and his or her kin also mediated conflicts, oversaw the building and maintenance of public works such as the mounds and plaza, kept the religious and ceremonial calendar and performances, supplicated the deities, and provided protection for the citizenry against foreign attacks. In fact, war iconography is prevalent on much Mississippian artwork, indicating that warfare was important and imbued all aspects of daily life. The palisaded towns that typically lay on a chiefdom's borders and the large buffer zones, or uninhabited regions between chiefdoms, indicate that warfare was not just important but probably endemic.<sup>7</sup>

Archaeologists divide the Mississippi Period into Early Mississippi (900–1200 C.E.), Middle Mississippi (1200–1500 C.E.), and Late Mississippi (1500–1700 C.E.). Soto's entrada occurred during the Late Mississippi Period. If the Spaniards had come 300 years earlier and had traveled toward present-day St. Louis, Missouri, they would have seen Cahokia, the earliest and largest of all Mississippian polities, which was occupied during the Early Mississippi Period. At its height, around 1050–1200 C.E., Cahokia proper was an expansive center that covered six square miles, with a population of around 20,000 and over 100 mounds of various sizes. Cahokia's influence dominated the Early Mississippian landscape. And by the Middle Mississippi Period, the Mississippian way of life was firmly in place across most of the South.<sup>8</sup>

The most famous Middle Mississippian sites are Moundville and Etowah in western Alabama and northwestern Georgia, respectively, but there are also impressive Middle Mississippian mound complexes throughout the central Mississippi River valley, the lower Ohio River valley, and most of the mid-South area, including western and central Kentucky, western Tennessee, and northern Alabama and Mississippi. This appears to have been the core of the classic Mississippian area, although other chiefdoms of various sizes existed on the margins, such as the famous Spiro site in present-day Oklahoma.

Chiefdoms were not uniformly alike across space and time. Clearly nothing ever matched the size of Cahokia, although archaeologists understand the classic Middle Mississippian chiefdoms such as Moundville to have been

quite large, complex chiefdoms. A “complex chiefdom” was a political organization in which one large chiefdom exercised some sort of control or influence over smaller chiefdoms within a defined area. Archaeologists call the smaller chiefdoms “simple chiefdoms” because they were polities in which the elite only controlled the towns connected to that chiefdom. Simple chiefdoms were clusters of about four to seven towns, with one of these usually having only a single mound and serving as the center of the chiefdom. These towns were small, with an average population of 350 to 650 people, and a simple chiefdom, as a whole, had an average population of between 2,800 to 5,400 people. The average diameter of a simple chiefdom was about 20 kilometers (12.43 miles), while the average distance between simple chiefdoms was 30 kilometers (18.64 miles).<sup>9</sup>

In the Late Mississippi Period, complex and simple chiefdoms existed side by side, and in a few cases single, especially charismatic leaders forged an alliance of several complex and simple chiefdoms into “paramount chiefdoms.” Archaeologists are not in agreement as to the specific organizational mechanisms that held a paramount chiefdom together. According to anthropologist Charles Hudson, whereas one can think of a simple chiefdom as a “hands-on, workaday administrative unit under the aegis of a particular chief, the paramount chiefdom may have been little more than a kind of non-aggression pact, and the power of a paramount chief may have been little more than that of first among equals.” In other words, paramount chiefdoms were political entities that could have ranged from strongly to weakly integrated, and paramount chiefs could have possessed power or merely influence. The concept of the paramount chiefdom, then, implies a less-centralized administration than larger, statelike organizations but a larger area of geographic influence than that of simple or even complex chiefdoms, sometimes spanning several hundred miles.<sup>10</sup>

Mounting archaeological evidence indicates the occurrence of a pattern of “cycling” in complex and simple chiefdoms—a seemingly endemic rise and fall of chiefdoms through time. For example, in the Savannah River area in present-day Georgia and South Carolina, there were a number of chiefdoms that rose and fell between 1100 and 1450 C.E., after which the area was abandoned until around 1660 C.E. How and why Mississippian chiefdoms rose and fell is poorly understood. Certain stresses such as soil exhaustion, drought, depletion of core resources, military defeat, and contested claims to the chieftainship may have constituted proximate causes for collapse. However, archaeologists generally agree that within a chiefdom, there also were



inherent structural instabilities, most likely those associated with chiefly power, authority, and ascension.<sup>11</sup> Chiefdoms, then, apparently could not withstand serious and prolonged external or internal stresses.

When a chiefdom fell, other chiefdoms around it did not necessarily fall. Archaeologists are beginning to understand that despite the cycling of chiefdoms, there was an overall regional stability in the Mississippian world. As David J. Hally demonstrates for present-day north Georgia, the chiefdoms in this area were integrated into a regional system of “interaction, interdependence, and the movement of energy, material, and information among polities.” When a chiefdom fell, a regional adjustment followed, as people joined other existing chiefdoms and new areas opened for the settlement and development of new chiefdoms. Ecological parameters also shifted to accommodate the new settlement layout. Hally proposes that the interplay between cycling chiefdoms and extant chiefdoms sponsored a sustained regional stability.<sup>12</sup>

The ritual and political gear of the Mississippian people constitutes some of the most important pre-Columbian artwork from the South. Craftspeople used an assortment of stone, clay, mica, copper, shell, feathers, and fabric to fashion a brilliant array of ceremonial items such as headdresses, beads, cups, masks, statues, cave art, ceramic wares, ceremonial weaponry, necklaces and earrings, and figurines. Many of these ritual items are decorated with a specific repertoire of motifs, such as the hand-and-eye motif, the falcon warrior or Birdman, bi-lobed arrows, severed heads, spiders, rattlesnakes, and mythical beings.<sup>13</sup>

Archaeologists studying the Mississippi Period recognized long ago that people across the South shared some ideologies because researchers recovered the same sorts of ritual objects throughout the South. They dubbed these objects the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex, which came to be known simply as the Southern Cult. Today, however, archaeologists understand the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex to not necessarily portray a unified religion for the Mississippian world but rather a set of basic concepts and principles that were used by various polities. In other words, there probably was not one religion for the whole of the Mississippian world at the time of contact; several religions, deriving from a fundamental set of beliefs and assumptions, likely coexisted.<sup>14</sup>

By studying the Mississippian iconography across the Mississippian world in time and space and through careful scrutiny of later documentary evidence, archaeologists and anthropologists have pieced together a plausible



FIGURE 2 Hypothetical model of Mississippian Indians' conception of the cosmos (From F. Kent Reilly III, "People of Earth, People of Sky," in *Hero, Hawk, and Open Hand: American Indian Art of the Ancient Midwest and South*, edited by Richard F. Townsend and Robert V. Sharp, 127 [Figure 2]. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press for the Art Institute of Chicago, 2004. © 2004 Jack Johnson. Reproduced with permission of F. Kent Reilly III and the Art Institute of Chicago.)

set of basic concepts and principles around which Mississippian religious orders were formed. Perhaps the most fundamental concept was that of the cosmos. The cosmos was believed to comprise three worlds: the Above World and the Below World, which were opposites, and the Middle World, or This World—the world of humans (Figure 2). I should caution the reader to not think of these three realms in the Judeo-Christian sense of "heaven," "hell," and "earth." The Below World was not a place where sinners were banished, nor was the Above World a place of reward for goodness. Rather, they were complimentary halves of a whole, and This World stood somewhere between the two. Also, the Above World and Below World were subdivided into tiers

or levels, and each level was home to specific deities and supernatural beings who could travel among cosmic levels. This World was usually conceived of as a single-layered earth disc floating on water.<sup>15</sup>

A central axis connected the three worlds, and in Mississippian artistic representations, it could take the form of a center pole or a sacred tree, often a cedar tree. From the center radiated the four cardinal directions; Mississippians undoubtedly placed great significance on the cardinal points because they are represented in many ways in their art. The significance of the cardinal directions persisted into the nineteenth century, and we know that at that time, the Cherokees associated the directions with the following:

East—red, blood, life, and success  
West—souls of the dead, black, and death  
North—cold, blue, trouble, defeat  
South—warmth, white, peace, happiness

Nineteenth-century Cherokees also believed that a full complement of spiritual beings dwelled in each of the four quarters. Thus there was a Red Man, Red Bear, Red Sparrow Hawk, and so on in the East. The Black Man, Black Bear, Black Sparrow Hawk, and so on lived in the West, with the same for the North and South. Mississippians may have had some similar beliefs since some Mississippian iconography places representations of animal spirits, such as the head of a crested bird (probably a representation of the ivory-billed woodpecker), in the four corners. In much of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Cherokee ritual, as well as in much of daily life, even ordinary things were done in increments of four, with the cardinal directions always in mind. For example, if a medicine man or woman was collecting bark from a tree, he or she would only gather bark from the fourth or seventh tree they encountered, and they would collect it from the east side of the tree to ensure life and success. When going to war, eighteenth-century Cherokee warriors would paint themselves red and black, symbolizing both success and death to the enemy.<sup>16</sup>

The numbers four and seven also occur repeatedly in documented Southern Indian myths and ritual. They were not merely magic numbers but expressed the structure of the belief system. It could be said that the number four represented everything in the known world—all the familiar forces in the cosmos. Seven, on the other hand, represented the highest degree of ritual purity and sacredness to which anything or anyone could aspire. In fact, seven represented a degree that most humans, plants, and animals could not

attain.<sup>17</sup> Comparing the Mississippian ritual iconography with later recorded myths, scholars believe that some of these concepts were in circulation during the Mississippi Period as well.

Mississippian people probably conceived of the sky as a stone vault, and the rotation of the sky was understood to be the edge of the sky vault moving up and down at the edge of the earth's horizon, much like a spinning bowl making contact with the top of a table. When the sky vault manifested as the night sky, it contained the celestial path that we know as the Milky Way. This was the "Path of the Souls," the roadway on which the dead journeyed as they traveled to the realms of the other worlds. But deities and even humans could travel the Path of Souls to traverse realms. In other words, a human, if he or she did the right rituals and supplicated the right deities, could enter the Path of Souls through a portal in the sky and then travel to the Above and Below Worlds. The hand-and-eye motif symbolizes this portal to the Path of Souls (see Figure 2). Traveling between the celestial realms would have been considered an especially dangerous but powerful thing to do, and the person who could do so would have been considered a very powerful prophet and priest.<sup>18</sup>

The Above World epitomized perfect order; it was clear, with no uncertainty. It was where the creatures of the sky—the birds and some mythical winged creatures—existed. Certain deities were associated with the Above World, such as Sun Chief and Sun Woman, Moon, Lighting Bolt, Thunder, and the Falcon Warrior, or Birdman. The Sun's representative in This World was fire, which the people believed to be sacred, although they did not consider sacred fire to *be* the Sun. Sacred fire could be polluted and hence would occasionally need to be extinguished and rekindled. The Sun, of course, could neither be polluted nor extinguished. The symbol for sacred fire was a cross, and the symbol for the sun was a circle. Mississippian artists often combined the two into a single motif known as a "sun circle."<sup>19</sup> In some cases, such as the Natchez, members of the chiefly lineage were considered to be members of the matriline of the Sun Woman, which gave them religious sanction for their status, prestige, and political authority.

The Above World existed in ancient times, and This World was created from it. This World, like the Upper World, was also oriented by cardinal directions and was understood to be a disk either floating on the surface of a primordial sea or resting on the back of a turtle that floated in an ocean. The earth was stilled from the rocking of the ocean by being suspended by four cords or ropes, or sometimes by four serpents. This World was created when

the creatures of the Upper World came down to live below, but the world got progressively impure, and finally they all left to return to the Upper World, leaving their inferior images behind to be the ordinary animals and spirits of This World. This World existed between the Above and Below Worlds and was therefore the dividing line and meeting ground for the two opposing worlds and their inhabitants.<sup>20</sup>

In addition to housing its own host of spiritual beings, This World also was populated by three great categories of nonspiritual beings: humans, animals, and plants. How Mississippians conceived of the relationship between the three beings is not known, although there is reason to believe that the relationship was divinely ordained. For example, a Cherokee myth recorded in the late nineteenth-century tells the story of humans, animals, and plants. In this story, humans and animals were said to share the earth, but they were opposed to one another, with enmity existing between them. Plants were the friends of humans. In fact, this triad of humans, plants, and animals figured prominently in the nineteenth-century Cherokee theory of disease and medicine, wherein animals afflicted humans with disease if humans treated them offensively, but plants offered their healing properties to humans.<sup>21</sup>

The Below World was an underwater realm, entered from This World through caves, lakes, rivers, and streams and from the Upper World by following the Path of the Souls. There, everything was inverted. The seasons were the opposite of those of This World and the Above World. The beings of the Below World included all of the creatures that dwelled in the water or underground—fish, snakes, frogs, lizards, and so on. As in the Above World, giant versions of these animals lived in the Below World proper, as did other, more monstrous animals. Supernatural beings such as ghosts, witches, and monsters also lived in the Below World. These beings did abnormal things and posed a threat to beings of This World. Whereas the Above World represented structure, predictability, boundaries, limits, stability, and order, the Below World represented inversions, madness, fertility, disorder, and change.<sup>22</sup>

The lord of this watery domain was the Underwater Panther, or Piasa. The Piasa was a legendary supernatural being that possessed the attributes of a panther, snake, and bird, and it even had horns. In some myths recorded in the late nineteenth century, the Cherokees believed there were four Piasas, one for each cardinal direction. The Piasa would use its thrashing tail to stir the surface of lakes and rivers into dangerous waves and whirlpools. The Piasa, like some of the other deities, could cross the boundaries between realms and

sometimes move into the Above World or even into This World. The late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century Cherokees believed that if you looked directly at a *Piasa*, it would render you confused, bewildered, and even mad.<sup>23</sup>

There were also deities that dwelled in the Above World during “Ancient Time.” This was the time before This World came to be, and things that occurred in Ancient Time structured much about the present time. For instance, all of the animals that exist today acquired their characteristics in Ancient Time. Many tales and myths recorded in the nineteenth century are such animal stories. For example, in one story from the Cherokees, Turtle and Opossum went out hunting persimmons one day. Wolf came along and stole their cache of persimmons. Frustrated by this, Opossum tossed a bone to detract Wolf, so that they could retrieve their fruits. But Wolf choked on the bone and died. Turtle then cut off Wolf’s ears, which was a grave insult. The Wolf lineage took revenge. They threw Turtle down some rocks and into a river, and Turtle’s shell was cracked from the fall. Turtle, though, liked the water, and he sang some healing songs and recovered. Turtles carry these scars on their shells to this day.<sup>24</sup>

Other deities dwelled in Ancient Time. For instance, two primary deities were First Man and First Woman, or Lucky Hunter and Corn Woman, as some Southern Indians called them in later times. The nineteenth-century Cherokee story of Corn Woman and Lucky Hunter is a sacred origin story. Corn Woman and Lucky Hunter, or First Man and First Woman, were human representatives in the Upper World. They were the first humans, but they had supernatural powers. First Man and First Woman figure much into Mississippian iconography, and Mississippian artists crafted statues and other sculptures in the likeness of them. The two were the central icons of the elite ancestor veneration, and the statues were kept in ossuaries atop the mounds.<sup>25</sup>

There were other Ancient Time deities, such as the warrior Morning Star (Red Horn) and his brothers. The well-known Falcon Warrior or Birdman motifs are representations of Morning Star. Morning Star was clearly a magical warrior, as he is often depicted doing ritual dances of warfare. He also is usually wearing feathers. Since feathers are associated with birds, which are of the Above World, scholars believe Morning Star was a mythical warrior of the Above World. The warrior heroes epitomize masculine traits and especially the warrior ethos—the path by which men gained status and prestige and proved themselves as men.<sup>26</sup>

In this cosmological order, the Above and Below Worlds were opposites of each other, and This World existed in between them. Mississippian beliefs, then, were organized according to dualistic oppositions such as Above World/Below World, man/woman, east/west, war/peace, and so on. Balance and purity were integral to these oppositions. Opposite categories existed in a balance, and when things were in balance, the cosmos was working according to plan. The cosmos was also in good order when things were pure, but purity required categorical tidiness. Humans in This World had been given the awesome responsibility of maintaining the balance, harmony, and purity of the cosmos. However, things could and would become unbalanced, disharmonious, or impure for any number of reasons. When that happened, humans had the divine charge to reinstate the order.<sup>27</sup>

The late eighteenth-century Creeks believed that in the mythical past, the “Master of Breath,” *Hisagita misi*, revealed to humans the rituals and prayers necessary to reinstate and ensure purity and balance in This World. *Hisagita misi* was the divine creator who the Creeks believed created all things good and who dwelled in the Above World. In the late eighteenth century, these rituals, prayers, and small acts were known by many people, who could perform them to reinstate or ensure balance and purity as need be. However, in especially important affairs, the reinstatement of purity and balance sometimes required a ritual specialist. In Mississippian times, archaeologists believe, only the sacred elite had access to such sacred knowledge; the bearers of this knowledge would have constituted a class of ritual specialists or priestly elite. The priests therefore were responsible for and controlled the reinstatement of cosmic balance and purity. The mico, then, would not only have been the top political figure in the chiefdom but also the top religious figure. In fact, politics and religious ideology were probably inseparable, and Mississippian chiefdom political orders were true theocracies.<sup>28</sup>

These fundamental religious concepts and beliefs constituted a baseline of ideology that manifested in many variations across the Mississippian world. In other words, despite some basic similarities, there were probably religious differences and varied interpretations of religious beliefs between chiefdoms. Archaeologists can identify such differences by delineating the proportions of iconographic representations found within a chiefdom. For example, at Moundville, the religious material remains have a high percentage of motifs associated with the Below World. At Etowah, on the other hand, the religious motifs are mostly those associated with the Upper World. In the sixteenth-century paramount chiefdom of Coosa, the one artifact

found throughout the many chiefdoms that made up the paramountcy is the Citico-style gorget, which is an oval shell disc incised with a coiled snake-like being. The seventeenth-century Natchez emphasized their relationship with the Sun, and sun motifs are common on Natchez religious materials. As these examples demonstrate, religion did not necessarily bind the Mississippian world, and, in fact, it could have served as a serious point of distinction and difference between chiefdoms.<sup>29</sup>

When the first Europeans came into the American South, they entered into the Mississippian world. In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, European sailors explored portions of the Atlantic and Gulf coastlines, but European colonization of North America did not begin until the early 1500s. Spanish conquistadors such as Juan Ponce de León and Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón made contact with Native southerners, and their expeditions—although ending in failure—provided invaluable information for Hernando de Soto, who launched his expedition in 1539. Landing in present-day Tampa Bay, Florida, and moving north, Soto's expedition explored the southern heartland for four years but failed in its objective of establishing a colony in North America (see Map 1). In an astonishing piece of good luck, Soto found a Spaniard, Juan Ortiz, who had been left in Florida by the Narváez expedition in 1528 and who had been held captive by local Indians ever since. Ortiz became the pivotal link in translating Indian languages for Soto. The principal records from the expedition are only four accounts of varying length and reliability—one by Luis Biedma, one by Rodrigo Rangel, one by an eyewitness known only as the "Gentleman of Elvas," and one by Garcilaso de la Vega. These are the first written records describing the interior South.<sup>30</sup> Over the past few decades, scholars have combined the records from the Soto and the later Tristán de Luna and Juan Pardo expeditions with archaeology to reconstruct the lay of the land of the Native South at the time of contact.<sup>31</sup>

In the mid-sixteenth century, there were dozens of chiefdoms in the South, many of which Soto and his army encountered.<sup>32</sup> As mentioned earlier, simple and complex chiefdoms existed side by side, and in at least one case in northwest Georgia, Soto encountered a powerful chief who he called Coosa who had built an alliance of several chiefdoms into a paramount chiefdom that spanned an area from present-day east Tennessee into northern Georgia and eastern Alabama (see Map 1).<sup>33</sup> By looking at Soto's route, one can see that he traveled through much of the Mississippian world, and that, when he came to the edges of it, he had to turn back and again enter into it. The reason for this is simple. As was the method in those days, Spanish armies



of conquest did not take along their own food supplies but depended on plundering Native supplies. Only in the Mississippian world did people grow enough surplus at the local level to feed such a large army when they passed through their towns. To the north, the growing season is considerably shorter; hence, although Indian people grew corn and other crops there, they could not produce a large surplus. To the west, the precipitation declines to the point where corn agriculture could only be maintained at a minimum level, and one also enters the Great Plains, the home of the buffalo hunters who traveled on foot. This environment, and the hunting-and-gathering lifestyle of the Native people, could not sustain a large group of foreign travelers.<sup>34</sup>

Although Soto and his army stayed within the Mississippian world, they did not pass through the territories of all the extant Native polities in the South at the time. For instance, archaeological evidence tells us that chiefdoms existed on the lower Chattahoochee River at the time of the entrada; but from Florida, Soto had decided to head northeast in search of Cofitachequi, which was renowned for its supposed riches.<sup>35</sup> Hence, he did not visit the polities on the Chattahoochee. Later, when he departed from Mabila in present-day central Alabama, Soto traveled to the northwest, away from the Gulf coast areas and hence away from the polities that made up what archaeologists call the Pensacola culture. Likewise, when he left Chicaza, Soto continued northwest, away from another famed province to the west called Caluça by the Chicaza. Still, Soto and his men did see much of the Mississippian world, and from combining a more accurate retracing of his route with modern archaeology, scholars have been able to reconstruct much about the people and places that made up the Late Mississippian South and something about the relationships among chiefdoms and their people.

The experiences between the people of Chicaza and Soto can give us a glimpse into the workings of the Mississippian world and the place of Chicaza in it. We pick up the story after Soto's army has traversed the entire extent of the paramount chiefdom of Coosa. After leaving Coosa, Soto's army crossed into present-day central Alabama and the province of Tascalusa. The Spaniards, as was the convention in Europe, referred to the leader of a province by the name of that province. This is why the *mico* of Tascalusa, for example, is known to us today only as "Tascalusa." By all accounts, Tascalusa was a powerful *mico*. His chiefdom, Tascalusa, was most likely on the upper Alabama River in present-day Alabama, just south of its confluence with the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers (Figure 3; and see Map 1). There are both documentary and archaeological indications that Tascalusa may have

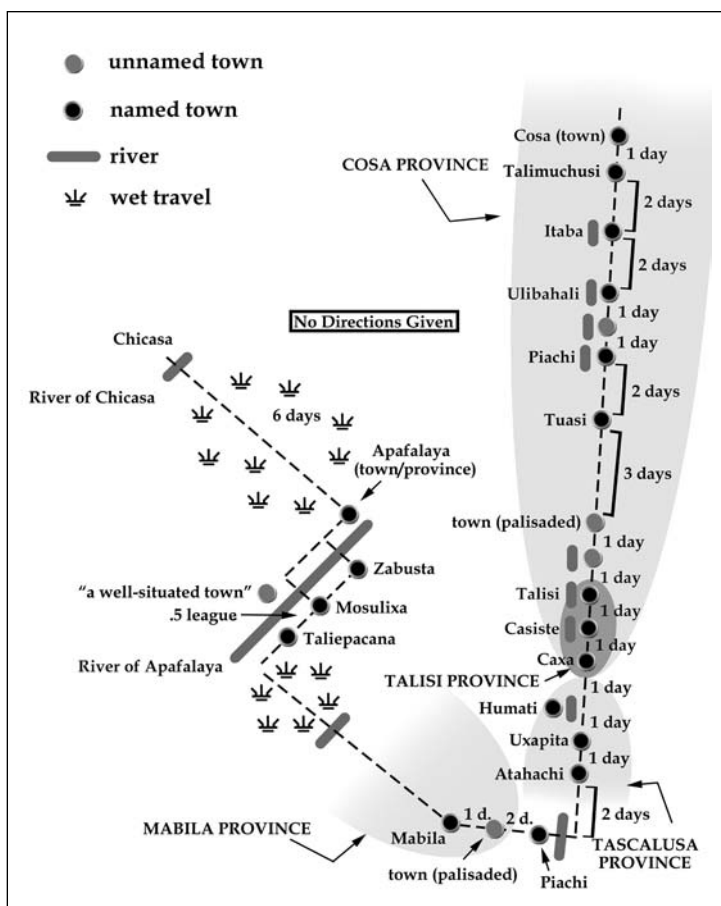


FIGURE 3 The Soto route from Coosa to Apafalaya as recounted by Rangel and showing the Mississippian provinces of Coosa, Tascalusa, Mabila, and Talisi (Drawing by Jeremy Davis. From Robbie Ethridge, Kathryn E. Holland Braund, Lawrence A. Clayton, George E. Lankford, and Michael D. Murphey, “A Comparative Analysis of the De Soto Accounts on the Route to, and Events at, Mabila,” in *The Search for Mabila: The Decisive Battle between Hernando de Soto and Chief Tascalusa*, edited by Vernon James Knight Jr., 164 [Figure 12.2]. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2009. Reprinted with permission of the University of Alabama Press.)

been in the process of putting together his own paramountcy at the time of Soto's visit by forging an alliance with the adjacent polities of Mabila and perhaps Piachi to the west and by enticing the polity of Talisi, which lay on Tascalusa's eastern boundary, away from Coosa, with whom it was aligned at the time.<sup>36</sup> Tascalusa also orchestrated a surprise attack against Soto at the palisaded town of Mabila. Although Tascalusa and his allies did not destroy the Spanish expedition in this now-famous attack, they did succeed in doing them much harm, killing several soldiers and horses and destroying many of their supplies. In hindsight, one can also see that they succeeded in pushing the Spaniards out of their provinces.<sup>37</sup>

After the battle, Soto's army camped for about a month on the outskirts of Mabila. During this time, they tended the wounded and repaired as best they could the weapons and other equipment that were damaged in the fire that had consumed Mabila during the battle. Soto also had given orders to raze all homes and towns in the vicinity. The fate of Indian cornfields is unknown, but since the army depended on these foods, it is reasonable to suppose that Soto's army harvested what they could before destroying the fields. One chronicler describes the province of Mabila as a well-populated and fertile area, and all the accounts agree that during their month-long encampment, Soto's army depleted the food in the area. Because of Soto's scorched-earth tactics and the losses they suffered in the battle, many Indians fled from the area.<sup>38</sup>

While encamped at Mabila, Soto gathered information from some captured Indians that the supply brigantines that he had ordered to return to Cuba after landing in Florida were now moored at the Bay of Achuse (probably present-day Pensacola Bay), waiting to resupply the expedition. According to Biedma, Soto opted to go not south but north, away from the Gulf; with little food and few Indians left in and around Mabila and cold weather approaching, Soto and his men needed to move to a better-provisioned and better-populated polity to spend the winter. According to Elvas, Soto kept the news of supply ships secret because he feared his soldiers, who were severely demoralized and suffering after the battle, would mutiny. And, in fact, relations between Soto and his army would grow progressively worse after Mabila, as the men became more and more disaffected with their leader and distrustful of his judgment.<sup>39</sup>

On Sunday, November 14, Soto broke camp and struck out in a north-northwest direction. After leaving the province of Mabila, Soto's army traveled for five days through an unpopulated region. We can now see that they

were traveling through the buffer zone between Mabila and the next adjacent chiefdom, which was called Apafalaya (see Map 1 and Figure 3). Apafalaya, a simple chiefdom on the present-day Black Warrior River in western Alabama, was located at the Late Mississippian remains of the great Moundville chiefdom of earlier centuries. Travel through the uninhabited zone between Mabila and Apafalaya was difficult for the soldiers because it was getting cold, they had little food, and they had to traverse many streams and wet areas on foot. The people of Apafalaya apparently knew about Soto and his tactics because prior to Soto's arrival, Indians from the town of Mosulixa removed all of their food supplies from their town and were guarding them across a river when the army arrived. A contingent of Soto's soldiers managed to wrest this supply from its guardians, and the rest of the army continued to pillage through the province.<sup>40</sup>

Upon reaching the main town of Apafalaya, also called Apafalaya, Soto, according to his usual custom, took the mico hostage. The idea was that holding the mico of a province hostage would guarantee safe passage through the polity as well as a supply of food, burden bearers, and even women for the soldiers. This also tells us something about the extent of a mico's authority and power because he or she could command such things from the populace. Needless to say, citizens of a province took serious offense at Soto's tactics, but they were reluctant to stage an offensive for fear that Soto would kill their mico. Perhaps because of the kidnapping of their mico, the people of Apafalaya put up little resistance, and Soto passed through the rest of the province unmolested.<sup>41</sup>

While at Apafalaya, or perhaps even earlier while at Mabila, Soto must have heard about the province of Chicaza and knew that it was a well-provisioned polity. When he departed Apafalaya, he went in search of Chicaza. It was also during this time that the mico of Chicaza must have heard about Soto. Soto left Apafalaya on Thursday, December 9, and traveled for at least five or six days through another uninhabited area, the buffer zone between Apafalaya and Chicaza (see Figure 3). Like the march to Apafalaya, this trip was difficult because of much cold, little food, and many streams and swamps to cross.<sup>42</sup> Following this route on a modern-day map, one can see that the army probably crossed the Black Warrior River, the Sipsey River, Luxapallila Creek, Mud Creek, Yellow Creek, and Cooper Creek.<sup>43</sup> This, indeed, must have been a difficult terrain. Even so, Chicaza mico had news of Soto's whereabouts before his arrival at the river of Chicaza, indicating that micos either had scouts or spies who easily crossed back and forth across

their buffer zones, or else people from Apafalaya and people from Chicaza kept up some sort of interaction and communication across polities. Given the interchiefdom hostility that characterized the Mississippian world, it was most likely the former.

On the following Tuesday, Soto and his army arrived at the river of Chicaza, where they encountered the Chicaza warriors on the bluffs across the river. Usually when a dignitary approached the boundary of a Mississippian province, the *mico* would send burden-bearers, guides, and, when needed, canoes to greet the visitors and to bring them into the towns.<sup>44</sup> To cross the Tombigbee would have required canoes, especially since the river was flooded when Soto arrived. However, no canoes were offered. Instead, war staffs blew in the wintry wind. Indian men, armed and dressed for war, shouted at the Spaniards from the bluff tops. Although the Spaniards would not have been able to understand the warriors without a translator, after two years of experience with Southern Indians, they would by now have recognized their gestures, dress, and harangues as unmistakably hostile. Clearly, the warriors of Chicaza had gathered not to welcome the visitors but to repel them.

Chicaza warriors delayed the army's progress for three days. On one of these three days, Soto sent a messenger across the river with a message for the *mico* of Chicaza. But when the messenger landed on the river bank, Chicaza warriors killed him on the spot and then departed the scene of the killing quite agitated and "uttering loud cries."<sup>45</sup> We do not know who this messenger was, but he may have been the *mico* of Apafalaya, who was still being held hostage.<sup>46</sup> Regardless of who he was, killing him was a mutually understood signal that Soto was not welcome and that the warriors intended to resist his entering into Chicaza. Soto, however, was a man not easily deterred nor intimidated. Having served in the Spanish conquest of Nicaragua and Panama and with Pizarro in Peru, and now having led his own expedition in North America for two years, he was a seasoned and hard conquistador.<sup>47</sup>

On the second day of the standoff, Soto ordered his men to build a large canoe for crossing the river. Instead of facing the warriors at their strongest point, Soto appointed his chief constable, Baltasar de Gallegos, to find another crossing point upriver. Gallegos selected thirty mounted soldiers who could swim well to go with him. The idea was for Gallegos's contingent to cross the river unseen, then stealthily move downstream to surprise and rout the force holding the river crossing. Indian lookouts, however, spied Gallegos's team, and the warriors of Chicaza suddenly abandoned their position on the bluffs. As we will see, such sudden retreats were common in

Mississippian warfare, and the Chicaza warriors were acting in accordance with military protocol. With the crossing now undefended, Soto and his army easily ferried themselves across the river in the canoe and thus entered the province of Chicaza. It was Thursday, December 16, 1540.<sup>48</sup>

While the army regrouped after crossing, Soto took an advance guard to the town of Chicaza, which Elvas described as a small, palisaded town of twenty houses. Soto arrived late that night and discovered that the people had fled. Soto had entered abandoned towns several times on his expedition, suggesting that wholesale abandonment of a town was a typical response to an invading army. People fled into the surrounding woods and canebrakes, where they concealed themselves until the danger had passed. Sometimes they would seek refuge in another town in the province. In this way, they dispersed themselves over the land to keep an invading force from seizing them. In some cases, they burned their own town rather than leave it in enemy hands.<sup>49</sup> Soto took possession of the town of Chicaza, and this is where the Spanish army spent the winter of 1540–41. Although the site of Chicaza has not been found, archaeologists agree that both the town and province of Chicaza were likely located in the physiographic region known as the Black Prairie. The Black Prairie is an upland prairie crossed by broad streams and underlain by a long, narrow deposit of chalk and marl filled with ancient fossil shells. From southwest Tennessee, the Black Prairie forms a distinctive geological and vegetative arc that swings down through Mississippi and into central Alabama. In present-day Mississippi, it cuts from the Tupelo area southeast to the Columbus–Starkville–West Point area and then across the Tombigbee River into Alabama.<sup>50</sup>

The archaeology from the middle Tombigbee indicates that during the Mississippian Period, a series of simple chiefdoms was situated along the stretch of the river that passes through the Black Prairie. Unlike complex chiefdoms, the layout of a Tombigbee chiefdom looked more like those of simple chiefdoms, which consisted of a small, sometimes palisaded mound center where the elite lineage lived and several small farming towns scattered over the countryside. This is termed a “local center-farmstead” settlement pattern.<sup>51</sup>

The elites of the Tombigbee chiefdoms obviously maintained some sort of social prestige and political stature—as indicated by the kinds of prestigious goods placed in their burials and the maintenance of the mounds—but the nature of their power was diffuse and weakly centralized. The manufacturing and distribution of prestige goods such as finely made ceramics, copper ear-pools, greenstone celts, marine-shell gorgets, and beads were not controlled

by the elites as they were in many chiefdoms. Instead, in the Tombigbee chiefdoms, such items were manufactured in the common households and owned by the rank and file as well as the elites. In other areas of the Mississippian world, elite power and authority was signaled through their abilities to control such exotic goods. The Tombigbee elites, however, likely maintained their position through their abilities to marshal a cohesive defense against outside attacks and to facilitate food storage and protection by offering a safe place to store surplus foods at the palisaded mound centers.<sup>52</sup>

In fact, archaeologists have theorized that the local center-farmstead polity was a response to living in the interface between two physiographic zones—the Fall Line Hills and the Black Prairie.<sup>53</sup> Because of the abundance of game in this area, especially white-tailed deer, in the late winter and fall people abandoned their farmsteads for communal hunting activities, and hence they were away from their towns for extended periods. Prior to leaving for the hunt, however, people would move their surplus agricultural stores to the local mound centers, where they could be stored and protected. Those not participating in the hunt, such as the elderly or very young, also likely relocated to the local centers at these times. In addition, during certain times of the year, all the people from the chiefdom came to the local mound center to participate in rituals and other activities. Elites living at the local centers organized and supervised these activities, by which they also gained some status and influence. From the kinds of grave goods found with many elites at the Lubbub Creek site, the best known of the Tombigbee chiefdoms, archaeologists believe that some category of elites also gained social and political stature from leadership in warfare.<sup>54</sup> This pattern may have carried forward into the colonial era, when, as we will see, a dual-leadership pattern divided along war-and-peace lines characterized the Chickasaw political order 100 years later.

Interestingly, during the Middle Mississippi Period, the Tombigbee chiefdoms managed to resist the Moundville hegemony that had swept through the Black Warrior River basin, just thirty-three miles to the east. The roots of the Tombigbee chiefdoms are somewhat ambiguous, but recent archaeological investigations suggest that these chiefdoms were formed around 1150 C.E. when a group from the nascent Moundville chiefdom (known as the Moundville I phase) colonized the middle Tombigbee River. Archaeologists have long recognized the similarities between Tombigbee Mississippian ceramics and those from the Black Warrior vicinity. After this initial colonization, other single-mound centers and farmsteads grew, until they were

virtually continuous between the Lubbub Creek site and the Lyon's Bluff site, another major center upriver from Lubbub Creek in present-day eastern Mississippi.<sup>55</sup> The Tombigbee chiefdoms maintained some kind of association with Moundville, as indicated by the similarity between Moundville and Tombigbee artifacts, but they apparently did not become part of the Moundville polity during its florescence in the Middle Mississippi Period. They remained independent polities.<sup>56</sup>

Around the time that Moundville went into decline (ca. 1450 C.E.), many people also moved out of the chiefdoms along the central Tombigbee. In fact, there seems to have been an overall fifteenth-century Mississippian adjustment, as many Mississippian chiefdoms throughout the South declined during the fifteenth century, although the reasons why are yet to be conclusively determined.<sup>57</sup> However, this did not presage the end of the Mississippian world. As these Mississippian polities declined, others rose to take their places. As we have seen, Moundville was succeeded by the small, simple chiefdom of Apafalaya and by the florescence of nearby strong polities such as Tascalusa.<sup>58</sup> When Etowah declined, there arose the paramount chiefdom of Coosa, which encompassed the diminished polity of Etowah as well as several other polities. In the case of some of the Tombigbee chiefdoms, many people left, but some stayed, such as those that lived at the Lubbub Creek and Lyon's Bluff sites. At Lubbub Creek, the people refortified their mound centers with a new palisade and continued to live there until the seventeenth century.<sup>59</sup>

Researchers believe that the central area of the Chicaza province may have been located on the watersheds of Mogawah Creek, Catalpa Creek, and the southern tributaries of Tibbee Creek, within the triangle formed by the present-day Starkville–Columbus–West Point area (see Map 1).<sup>60</sup> Archaeologists cannot say whether Chicaza was a new chiefdom that arose after 1450 C.E. or an older one that had weathered the times. In fact, archaeologists are in disagreement over whether or not the province of Chicaza was a chiefdom, with a hierarchical social and politic structure, or an egalitarian, tribelike organization. One crucial piece of archaeological evidence that could help answer some of the questions about Chicaza is missing. Archaeologists have not found the site of Chicaza, nor any of the sites related to it, and scholars argue that the Soto narratives can be interpreted in different ways.<sup>61</sup>

Those who interpret the current archaeological data as indicating that Chicaza was not a hierarchical, chiefdom society but a decentralized, egalitarian



tarian one argue that around 1450 C.E., when many of the chiefdoms located in the bottomlands of the central Tombigbee and its tributaries were abandoned, people moved northwest into the Black Prairie uplands. They note that the sites dating to the sixteenth century in the upland prairie are all small hamlets and that there are no upland-prairie mound sites. They interpret the absence of mound sites to mean that there were no central administrative centers typical of chiefdoms, and hence, the people were not under the political organization of a chiefdom.<sup>62</sup>

Conversely, others have proposed that the sixteenth-century hamlets scattered through the uplands were part of the local center-farmstead settlement patterns typical of the Tombigbee chiefdoms. In this case, the people in the uplands would have kept up their affiliations with mound centers that were operating on the Tombigbee and its tributaries in the sixteenth century.<sup>63</sup> There are several mound sites along the Tombigbee and also in and around the Tibbee Creek area, which is where the town of Chicaza probably was, but few have received archaeological investigation. The largest complex in the likely vicinity of Chicaza is the Owl Creek site in present-day Chickasaw County, but it dates to the Middle Mississippi Period.<sup>64</sup> Another is the Lyon's Bluff site, a single-mound site located on Line Creek in Oktibbeha County. Recent carbon 14 dates from Lyon's Bluff indicate that it was occupied from 1200 to 1650 C.E. but that the main building stage occurred between 1390 and 1420 C.E., during the Middle Mississippi Period.<sup>65</sup> Whether or not the Lyon's Bluff site continued to function as a mound center of a chiefdom in the sixteenth century is not yet known.<sup>66</sup> There are also five or more other mound sites in this vicinity, but none have received archaeological attention.<sup>67</sup> In this scenario, then, Chicaza would resemble the local center-farmstead settlement pattern typical of other Tombigbee chiefdoms—in this case, with the mound center along the Tombigbee or one of its tributaries and the farmsteads in prairie uplands.

Certainly, finding Chicaza will settle these debates. Based solely on the Soto records, I understand Chicaza to have been a chiefdom and present it as such here. This interpretation could fit with both scenarios presented above. If the dates for the movement out of the bottomlands are correct and people abandoned most of their local centers along the Tombigbee and dispersed into prairie upland hamlets by 1490 C.E., this does not necessarily mean that they abandoned their chiefly ways. The towns of most Mississippian chiefdoms were located within a well-defined area along a river bottom, but dispersed upland settlement patterns were not uncommon. Archaeolo-

gists find this kind of pattern throughout the Mississippian Period and in a variety of chiefdoms from across the South.<sup>68</sup> In fact, the conquistadors had only just left a province with a strikingly similar pattern at Mabila, and one chronicler explicitly notes the similarity between Mabila and Chicaza.<sup>69</sup> In addition, archaeologists are beginning to understand that not all principal towns had a mound, and that some, especially those of simple chiefdoms, only had a single, low mound.<sup>70</sup> Admittedly, the chroniclers did not mention a mound at Chicaza, but they often did not make note when mounds were in a town, especially small mounds.<sup>71</sup>

The current regional picture of Mississippian cycling shows that when a chiefdom collapsed, people did not simply move into the hinterlands as “tribal” level societies. Rather, they moved in patterned ways to join other functioning chiefdoms, or they relocated, took in other immigrants, and began reorganizing into a new chiefdom. The current regional picture of the Mississippian era also shows that “tribal” level societies existed only on the fringes of this world. The Mississippian world was a world of chiefdoms, and in a world of chiefdoms, a polity was constrained to be organized into a chiefdom—just as in a world of nations, polities are constrained to be organized into nations. But all nations are not equal, and failed nations, as we have learned, make life hard for everybody. Finally, a close examination of the documentary evidence supports the idea that Chicaza was a ranked society and chiefdom. As we will see, the army that Chicaza assembled and their methods of warfare were consistent with those of a ranked social order; the *mico* of Chicaza clearly had subordinate *micos* from neighboring polities; the ceremonial greeting between Soto and Chicaza were indicative of his high rank; and Chicaza clearly bore himself like a man of high status.

As the narratives demonstrate, when compared to other elite chiefs that Soto met, the *mico* of Chicaza (known to us today as Chicaza) carried himself and acted very much like an elite *mico*. For example, when Chicaza came to meet Soto, he did so as any elite chief would when visiting a dignitary. Upon arriving at the abandoned town of Chicaza, Soto had sent word to Chicaza asking for a meeting. Chicaza delayed, and he did not come to meet Soto for about three weeks. According to Elvas, Soto at one point captured some local Indians, one of whom was greatly esteemed by Chicaza. Whether Soto used this hostage to coerce Chicaza into a meeting—a probable scenario—goes unrecorded.<sup>72</sup> In any case, when Chicaza determined that the time was right for a meeting, he first sent emissaries to Soto to inform him

of his peaceful intent, as diplomatic etiquette across the South required. He also sent a message that he and his people hoped only to serve Soto.

Overlooking the initial hostility at the river, Soto reciprocated, sending a message back to the mico that he wished him to visit and that he would give the mico many things. On Monday, January 3, 1541, Chicaza, borne on a litter carried on the shoulders of some of his principal men, came to meet Soto. Upon meeting, Chicaza offered himself, his land, and his vassals to Soto for anything he might need. He had also brought with him his retinue of principal men (or councillors), some little “dogs” (which may have actually been some other small mammals, such as opossums or raccoons), and hides as gifts for Soto, as well as guides and interpreters for their stay.<sup>73</sup>

One should not interpret this greeting to mean that Chicaza capitulated to Soto or that he recognized Soto as his superior. Rather, this greeting ceremony typified those between Mississippian micos, especially between those of a paramount chief and his subordinate chiefs.<sup>74</sup> It is likely that Chicaza was recognizing Soto as a potential ally, and, as things turned out, he indeed asked Soto for assistance in a military move against another chiefdom. A few days after their initial meeting, Chicaza returned with two other micos, Alimamu and Miculasa, to meet Soto. This meeting, likewise, was a high-level, ceremonial one, as both Alimamu and Miculasa brought with them their principal men as well as 150 rabbits and some blankets and skins for Soto.<sup>75</sup> As we shall see, Chicaza later solicited Soto’s aid in making a move against Miculasa.

In the meantime, the citizens of Chicaza and Soto’s army seemingly got along well. All of the chroniclers agree that Chicaza did not stay at the town of Chicaza while Soto was there, although Biedma indicates that he spent much time there. The mico probably took his residence elsewhere while the Spanish army was encamped at Chicaza. Over the winter, Soto and Chicaza visited frequently, and according to Elvas, Soto would even send a horse for Chicaza when he wished him to visit. The Indians of Chicaza, too, visited with the soldiers regularly and brought them rabbits and whatever else they had to spare. The Spaniards looked on Chicaza as a fertile province, “abounding in maize.” When the gifts of food and other stuffs were not enough, the Spaniards confiscated corn from the Indians’ fields, gathering enough for their winter stay.<sup>76</sup>

If the chiefdom of Chicaza was similar to the other Tombigbee chiefdoms, corn would have indeed been plentiful at harvest time. The farmers of the Tombigbee chiefdoms were of two sorts: those who lived at the local centers

and cultivated nearby communal fields in the floodplains and small farming families dispersed across the chiefdom who planted small agricultural plots near their homes. In both cases, farmers planted corn, sunflowers, and beans, but they also harvested many wild foods, including various sorts of nuts, persimmons, plums, grapes, and maypops. But corn was their vegetable mainstay.<sup>77</sup>

Deer undoubtedly provided Tombigbee residents with the bulk of their meat protein, although they also ate rabbit and squirrels. Alimamu and Miculasa brought Soto rabbits as a gift and the citizens of Chicaza on occasion supplied rabbits to the Spaniards, so the creatures must have been plentiful in the Black Prairie in the sixteenth century, as they still are today. Procuring deer meat in this particular environment required those in the small farmsteads to seasonally leave their homes in order to hunt, probably in the late fall and early winter. As discussed earlier, those not participating in the hunt moved to the local center, where they stored and protected their agricultural products under the watchful eye of the *mico* and his warriors. Hunting parties may have gathered here at this time for communal hunts and later for divvying up the meats. Ceremonies and feasts took place during this season as well, since people were congregated at the local center. Soto's arrival in early December, of course, would have disrupted all of this.<sup>78</sup>

Soto's army spent a hard winter at Chicaza. Considering climatic conditions in north Mississippi today, it may seem odd to learn that the Spaniards suffered greatly from the cold. According to the chroniclers, it was bitter cold with much wind, and the snow fell more there than in Castile, the Spanish homeland for many of Soto's soldiers. We now know that this was the time of the Little Ice Age, a period of about 100 to 200 years during which temperatures on a global level fell, causing especially severe winters throughout the northern hemisphere.<sup>79</sup>

While at Chicaza, Soto heard about the province of Caluça, which likely lay to the west in the Yazoo River basin (see Map 1).<sup>80</sup> Caluça was famous throughout the land. It was a province of ninety towns and was not subject to anyone. The land there was prosperous and good. Caluça had such a reputation that local Indians described the citizens as "ferocious people, very bellicose, and very feared." Apparently, the *mico* of Chicaza thought or hoped Soto would want to go to Caluça, as the guides and interpreters he offered for Soto's aid at their first meeting were for that purpose.<sup>81</sup> Although unrecorded, Soto may have sent a reconnaissance group to Caluça, but it is somewhat puzzling as to why he did not take the expedition there, since up until

that time he had deliberately sought out the richest, most renowned polities. As we will see, a subsequent turn of events at Chicaza left the army seriously weakened, and perhaps Soto did not want to risk an encounter with the ferocious Caluça. It is quite likely that the survivors of Soto's army encountered the impressive navy of this province two years later as the soldiers fled down the Mississippi River. Caluça may have been the name by which the Chicaza called the chiefdom on the lower Mississippi River that the Spaniards later came to know as Quigualtam.<sup>82</sup>

Over the course of the winter, relations between the Spaniards and the Indians of Chicaza began to deteriorate. Certainly, local Indians would have condemned the stealing of their surplus corn as not only offensive but also dangerous to their own well-being. Soto continued his practice of capturing Indians who were around the town uninvited. In one case the Spaniards believed that some Indians had been sent to spy on them and gather information on their night guard. Elvas also reported that two Indians snuck into the Spanish encampment and killed some of their pigs, which they kept as starvation food. Spanish soldiers caught three of these Indians, and Soto subsequently had two of them shot with arrows and the hands of the third cut off. He sent the handless man to the mico of Chicaza as a warning to others who would steal from the Spaniards.<sup>83</sup>

In one story, related only by Elvas, four Spanish horsemen went to the town where Chicaza was staying and stole some blankets and skins. The townspeople were greatly upset by these thefts, and many began to abandon the town and surrounding farmsteads. Soto—perhaps hoping to stop the local Indians, on whom he and his men depended, from leaving—took drastic measures with his own men. He sentenced the leader of the thieves, Francisco Osorio, and his chamberlain, Fuentes, to death and confiscated the goods from the rest. Soto, as most conquistadors, traveled with missionaries, whose task was to attend to the conversion of local people. When the friars with Soto heard of this incident, they beseeched him not to execute Osorio; but Soto was steadfast.

As the execution team was preparing to behead Osorio and Fuentes, some messengers from Chicaza arrived to complain about the thefts. Their Spanish translator, Juan Ortiz, at the request of Baltasar de Gallegos and others and at great peril to his own life, purposefully mistranslated their message. Instead of lodging the complaints, Ortiz told Soto that they were explaining that Chicaza did not look on Osorio and Fuentes's offenses as great, and that Chicaza was asking Soto to release the prisoners as a personal favor. Ortiz

then turned to the messengers and mistranslated Soto's reply. Ortiz told them that Soto would punish the culprits as an example to others. But then Soto ordered the men released—something surely not lost on the local Indians.<sup>84</sup>

Sometime during the winter, Chicaza approached Soto with a request for military aid against one of his subordinates, who was withholding his tribute to the mico. In the Mississippian world, withholding tribute from an overlord was tantamount to declaring independence. According to Elvas, Chicaza complained to Soto that one of his vassals had risen against him and was withholding his tribute. The offending polity was named Sacchuma, and the chief of Sacchuma was Miculasa, one of the micos Soto had met those first weeks at Chicaza.<sup>85</sup>

Chicaza told Soto that he was about to go seek the rebellious mico in his own land and to "punish him as he deserved."<sup>86</sup> He then asked Soto for military aid in this punitive action. Soto commanded thirty horse soldiers and eighty foot soldiers to go with Chicaza, who, in the meantime, had gathered 200 armed warriors to accompany him. After crossing into the province of Sacchuma, the combined Indian and Spanish force came upon a palisaded town, but the people had fled, leaving it abandoned.<sup>87</sup> Chicaza's army burned the town, and apparently Miculasa got the message. Upon their return to Chicaza, Miculasa made peace with Chicaza—meaning that he acknowledged his subservience to the mico.<sup>88</sup>

That Chicaza considered Miculasa a rebellious subordinate would indicate that Chicaza held some sort of chiefly power over adjacent polities. Really, though, the relationship between Chicaza, Miculasa, and Alimamu is difficult to decipher. Recall that in his first meeting with Soto, Chicaza brought both Miculasa and Alimamu to meet the conquistador. The fact that both arrived with their own retinues and gifts would indicate that they were not merely noblemen of Chicaza's lineage. Both apparently were, at the least, micos of simple chiefdoms, and we know that Miculasa was the mico of the province of Sacchuma.<sup>89</sup> Later, Soto would encounter the people of the province of Alimamu, indicating that Alimamu was likely the mico of this province.

The two micos shared some common cause with Chicaza, as the three came to see Soto together. However, Chicaza had made the first visit alone, indicating that he held some sort of primacy in regional affairs. When Chicaza requested Soto's military assistance in his attack on Miculasa's polity, he told Soto that Sacchuma was a vassal or a subordinate, which perhaps suggests that the province of Chicaza was a complex or paramount chiefdom

and that the mico of Chicaza was keeping his subordinates in line. We do not know whether Soto had come to Chicaza at a time when the mico was consolidating a complex or paramount chiefdom or losing his power over a coalition of chiefdoms. Or he may have simply been engaged in political wrangling. The assault against Sacchuma could indicate any of these. There is also a hint that the march to Sacchuma had nothing to do with the political intrigues of micos but was rather an Indian ploy devised to divide the Spanish army, thus rendering them vulnerable to attack. Thus, it could be that all three provinces were simple chiefdoms, joined in a loose alliance and occasionally challenging each other.

Such politics would not be uncommon among adjacent simple chiefdoms because there was a continual jockeying for power and prestige among the leaders between and within polities.<sup>90</sup> Although the chronicles are sketchy and the archaeology is insufficient for a conclusive evaluation, the polities of Chicaza, Sacchuma, and Alimamu appear to have been adjacent to each other, with Chicaza in the middle (see Map 1). When Soto left the province of Chicaza, the army traveled due north for a day before reaching the first town of Alimamu. Likewise, when the combined Spanish and Indian forces traveled to Sacchuma, they probably traveled due south or west for at least a day, indicating that both polities were roughly equidistant from Chicaza.<sup>91</sup> There may also have been a fourth polity in the immediate vicinity known as Talapatica, but Rangel only mentions that visitors from there came to meet Soto after the expedition against Sacchuma. These polities—Chicaza, Alimamu, Sacchuma, and perhaps Talapatica—were more than likely adjacent chiefdoms and congregated in a relatively small area of northeast Mississippi.<sup>92</sup> Clearly, they interacted with each other, sharing information if nothing else. It would also appear from the Soto chronicles that Chicaza held primacy over the region, although the full nature and extent of his power or influence cannot be determined.

Interestingly, this group of polities, and the other clusters of local centers still extant on the Tombigbee in the sixteenth century, were surrounded by large expanses of uninhabited lands. Recall that to the east, the nearest polity was Apafalaya, which was separated by a buffer zone that took the Spaniards five or six days to traverse. Many miles to the west lay Caluça. To the northwest was another large buffer zone; when the Spaniards left Alimamu, they traveled nine to twelve days before reaching the first town of Quizquiz. To the north was a large uninhabited or sparsely inhabited area that stretched up the Tennessee River to the Ohio River and west to the Mississippi River.

Archaeologists call it the “Vacant Quarter.”<sup>93</sup> Directly south was another sparsely inhabited area that ran to the coastal areas.<sup>94</sup>

Considering Chicaza’s geopolitical situation, his jockeying for power would have been limited to only those chiefdoms in his vicinity—that cluster of local centers on this section of the Tombigbee. The wide buffer zones between Chicaza and the other chiefdoms to the east, west, north, and south indicate that hostility and social distance stood between them, meaning that they had little daily interaction with each other. In fact, when Soto reached the first town of Quizquiz, the people were surprised at his arrival.<sup>95</sup> Apparently, they had no information about Soto, indicating that there was no communication between this polity and those in northeast Mississippi.

In other words, for the *mico* of Chicaza, his political ambitions and daily leadership concerns only included Chicaza and those polities along the Tombigbee and in the Black Prairie that comprised his closest neighbors. He may have been the most influential *mico* in the area, and certainly Soto thought he was, but his power and influence was circumscribed. Still, he had the responsibility and the obligation to protect and defend those who lived within his domain. As relations with the Spaniards continued to deteriorate, Chicaza would soon act on this responsibility.



## CHAPTER 2

### *The Battle of Chicaza and Mississippian Warfare, ca. 1541*

The most momentous event during the winter of 1540–41 was the battle between the Spanish soldiers and the Chicaza warriors. The clash likely occurred for many reasons: the wanton taking of Indian food stores by the Spaniards; the ill will that grew as both Indians and Spaniards offended each other through petty thefts and insults; the suspicions and distrust that ballooned over the course of the winter; Soto's haughty demands and Chicaza's chafing at those demands; and the responsibility Chicaza had to defend his people and territory. The battle itself was an important event in Chicaza history, and one can examine the events leading up to, during, and after the battle to further pull back the curtain on life in the Mississippian world. In particular, Mississippian warfare, the warrior ethic, and politics can be brought into better focus. Hence, it is worth examining the battle in detail.

As the winter cold began to subside, Soto set March 4 as the date for the Spaniards' departure from Chicaza. At some point before this, Chicaza and his councillors had devised a plan for a surprise attack against the Spanish army. It is impossible to reconstruct the discussions that went on in Chicaza's councils and the exact events leading up to the battle. According to Biedma, Chicaza's men had been spying on the army since they first arrived, gaining intelligence about how they slept and how they guarded the encampment. Elvas reported that the Indians' first attempt to attack the Spanish occurred when Chicaza asked for Soto's aid against Sacchuma, which Elvas understood as a ruse to divide the Spanish army. Soto had sent a contingent with Chicaza, but the alleged plan to divide the army did not come to pass because, according to Elvas, the Spanish were "watchful and prudent." Rangel,

on the other hand, believed that the Indians of Chicaza did not plan the attack until much later, on the eve of the Spaniards' departure. Rangel relates that Soto, preparing to continue the expedition, demanded burden bearers (200 according to Elvas). The people of Chicaza resented Soto's demand, and according to Rangel, the request was met with much agitation and created "an uproar."<sup>1</sup> It is reasonable to suppose that the mico of Chicaza, too, would have been offended by Soto's demand, and he also would have had some responsibility to respond to his constituents' unrest over it.

Regardless of when the planning took place and what transpired before the assault, all of the chroniclers agree that the result was a crippling surprise attack against the expedition. In conjunction with the constant spying and the deteriorating relations with local Indians, the ruckus over the demand for burden bearers caused Soto to become quite vigilant. The day before he and his men were scheduled to depart, he began to suspect that something was amiss. That night, he warned his soldiers: "This night is a night of Indians; I will sleep armed and my horse saddled." He advised everyone else to do the same.<sup>2</sup> The governor then instructed his master of camp, Luis de Moscoso, to take extra care with the sentinels that night and to be sure everyone was on their guard. Perhaps because of their growing disdain for Soto, the men ignored his orders and slept undressed. Nor did they bother to saddle their horses, and they generally settled down for the night "without care and unarmed."<sup>3</sup>

In the early hours of the morning of March 4, 1541, Indian warriors, "two by two and four by four," stealthily closed in on the town. They carried with them some little clay jars in which they had placed embers to ignite fire arrows. According to Biedma, 300 warriors entered the town without the Spanish sentries detecting them. By the time the sentries saw them and sounded the alarm, the front guard of Indian fighters had already set half the houses on fire. Once the front guard had been detected, Indians in the rear ranks began beating drums. Upon this signal, the remaining Chicaza warriors rushed the town, issuing loud, fearsome battle cries. They attacked in four companies, with each company coming from a different side. They came so fast that they caught the Spaniards completely unprepared.<sup>4</sup>

The Spanish, surprised and confused, fled in all directions, and no one could adequately arm themselves, much less muster a defense against the attack. Soto and a soldier named Tapia de Valladolid managed to mount their horses. Soto's saddle, though, had not been properly tied, and when he leveled his lance and galloped toward an Indian, the force of the lance against

the man knocked the saddle and Soto askew, and he fell from his horse. Amid the smoke, flames, and confusion, several Spanish horses either got loose or were cut loose, and according to Elvas, this was the Spaniard's saving grace. Indian warriors mistook the rampaging and scared animals for the horse guard and retreated. Biedma, on the other hand, reported that it was "a great mystery" as to why the Indians retreated. But all agreed that if the Indians had pressed their advantage, they could have easily annihilated the Spanish force.<sup>5</sup>

Although we will never know the details of Chicaza's motives in attacking the Spaniards, one can suppose he did so in order to punish the Spanish for their wrongdoings while in his province, to assert his own authority and thus to place Soto into a subordinate position, and to drive the Spanish from his province.<sup>6</sup> Since the Mississippians left no written accounts, we can only get a glimpse of how they made war and peace, and we cannot know their exact motives for war nor the details of their rules and methods of warfare. However, by combining the archaeological data with some of the early documentary accounts such as those from the Soto expedition, scholars can reconstruct something about war and politics in Mississippian life.

Many Mississippian towns and mound centers were fortified with tall, wooden walls and sometimes additionally surrounded by moats, and chiefdoms were separated by buffer zones. These facts indicate that warfare was chronic during the Mississippi Period. The iconography from the Mississippi Period is filled with war motifs and warrior figures, so much so that scholars believe warfare not only figured into much of Indian daily life but also much of their religious life. Items such as shell gorgets, ritual conch-shell cups, and copper plates depict mythical warriors—part human, part bird—in full battle regalia and in various poses, often performing war dances (Figure 4). Myths recorded by Spanish priests in the late sixteenth century and early seventeenth century, likewise, tell tales of mythical warriors engaged in mythic contests. War, then, was not just of this world but had a cosmic component that real-life Mississippian warriors hoped to reenact on their own battlefields.<sup>7</sup>

Relations between chiefdoms could be fractious, competitive, and often-times hostile. Even so, chiefdoms also managed to form alliances with other polities, as in the cases of the complex and paramount chiefdoms that Soto saw and in the coordinated military assaults on Soto. Although the exact mechanisms for building and maintaining political and military alliances are poorly understood, the Soto documents show that alliances were maintained



FIGURE 4 Copper repoussé plate depicting Birdman, Etowah, Mound C, thirteenth century (Catalog No. A91117, Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution. Photograph by Donald E. Hurlbert.)

as much through military coercion and domination as through diplomacy and negotiation.<sup>8</sup> One of the fundamental relationships between chiefdoms, then, may have been war. Paradoxically, it may have been war that held the Mississippian world together.

Because of the prevalence of war motifs in Mississippian art, and because much of this art was associated with elite burials, scholars understand that the Mississippian military order was part and parcel of the Mississippian political order. They also understand the military to have constituted one of three important theocratic institutions associated with the chiefly elite. Archaeologist J. Vernon Knight interprets the sacra of Mississippian Period iconography

to represent three coexisting institutions. First, Knight identifies a communal institution that emphasized the earth, fertility, and purification and that had as its central icon the platform mound. The layering of mantles of earth on a mound at the death of the mico represented communal renewal and purification. Second is the chiefly institution that emphasized warfare, war, and warrior titles, and which also served to legitimate and sanctify chiefly authority through control over the rituals and spiritual underwriting of warfare and hence leadership. The icons associated with this institution are the well-known warrior and warfare ritual objects and motifs—artifacts such as the monolithic war clubs and motifs like the bilobed arrows, the falcon-warriors or birdmen, the severed heads, and so on. And third is a priestly institution that supervised the elaborate Mississippian mortuary rituals and ancestor veneration of the elite dead. The central icons of the priestly institution were the funerary goods and temple statuary. Although he identifies three institutions, Knight proposes that the communal and chiefly institutions were organizational opposites and that, at its center, Mississippian religion was a dyadic organization. He suggests that the priestly institution may have served to mediate between the chiefly and communal institutions.<sup>9</sup>

Although the mico held the top position in the political-religious order, the duties of leadership were likely divided among the elite lineage. For example, the class of ritual specialists was probably drawn exclusively from the elite lineage. Among the elite lineage, then, there would have been elite priests and prophets who oversaw the warrior ethos, ancestor veneration, and the renewal ceremonies. We know from the eighteenth-century documentary evidence that many Southern Indian groups had an office of a “war priest” who was a specialist in the ceremonies and rituals associated with warfare and who ensured proper ceremonial decorum and ritual before, during, and after warfare. The Natchez, one of the few chiefdoms that survived into the eighteenth century, had an office of “Great War Chief.” In the early eighteenth century, Tattooed Serpent, the brother of the Great Sun, the Natchez mico, held this office.<sup>10</sup> Whether the war priest and the war chief were two different offices or two appellates for a single office is not clear.

Presuming that the Mississippian office resembled somewhat the Historic Period office, Mississippian war chiefs/priests would have been key military advisors to the mico and indispensable ritual specialists in matters of war. If the Natchez Tattooed Serpent’s role is any indication, they were also adept at diplomacy as well as warfare. War chiefs/priests supervised the prewar ritual preparations for war, and since the spilling of blood resulted in impurity and

imbalance, they saw to the post-battle rituals of purification and the re-statement of balance. War chiefs/priests also had powers of prophesy and could foretell military outcomes and use magic to protect warriors.<sup>11</sup>

Although there is no direct evidence for war priests or war chiefs in the Mississippi Period, the presence of grave goods decorated with military iconography such as the Birdman and other military motifs in certain burials suggests that such an office existed. The most spectacular burial associated with the Falcon Warrior, or Birdman, is Mound 72 at Cahokia. Mound 72 is a small, oval mound in which over 250 people were interred. Of these 250 burials, two were highly regarded, elite men, as indicated by the richness of the grave goods associated with them. One of these elite men was buried atop a layer of over 20,000 shell beads deposited in the shape of a bird. At the same time, the other elite man was buried beneath the layer of shell beads. Several people were sacrificed and buried with them at the time the two elites were buried. Over the next several years, hundreds of other people were sacrificed and buried in the mound, their final resting places layered on top of the elite burials. Scholars have recently interpreted this astonishing burial to represent one of the mythic tales about Morning Star, surmising that the war chief/priest buried in the mound may have served as a metonymy of the mythic warrior Morning Star.<sup>12</sup>

Exactly how the accession to war priest/chief and other Mississippian offices took place is difficult to reconstruct. In the case of Tatooed Serpent, for example, it is unclear whether the Great Sun appointed him to his post, he was born into it as the second-eldest male in the Sun line, he achieved it through his accomplishments in war, or some combination of these. However, using the rich ethnohistorical sources for the Apalachee, Timucuan, and Guale chiefdoms in present-day Georgia and Florida that survived into the eighteenth century under the Spanish regime, scholars can now give us some idea of the structure of the political order.

Mississippians were matrilineal, meaning that they traced descent through the female line. Each matriline was part of a larger kinship grouping known as the clan, and the clans were ranked. Likewise, the lineages in a clan were ranked. Among the Indians of Florida, the towns within a chiefdom were also ranked. Therefore, a simple chiefdom drew a mico from the highest-ranking member of the highest-ranking lineage in the highest-ranking clan of the highest-ranking community within the cluster of five to ten towns that constituted the chiefdom. The mico in these simple chiefdoms, however, did not have autocratic power. He or she presided over a chiefly council

consisting of the headmen of each town, known in Muskogean as *holatas* or *oratas*. From accounts written during the 1566–68 Juan Pardo expeditions into present-day South Carolina and North Carolina, we know that the *oratas* occupied the first highest seats in the *mico*'s council. The *oratas* also had their noble counselors or assistants, known as *inihas* or *benihas*. The *henihas* occupied the lower seats in the *mico*'s council. The chief of the chiefdom was the highest-ranking *orata*, and he or she held the title of *mico*. All of the *oratas* were drawn from the highest-ranking lineage in the highest-ranking clan within their respective towns.<sup>13</sup> Since clans crosscut towns, the highest-ranking clan in each town was most likely the *mico*'s clan. Hence, all leadership posts came from the highest-ranking clan in the chiefdom.

The relationship between the *oratas* of a chiefdom and the *mico* likely varied from chiefdom to chiefdom, depending on any number of factors. In some cases, the *oratas* and their communities may have maintained autonomy from the *mico*, in which case the *mico*'s authority would have come from maintaining good ties with the various constituents of his chiefdoms by providing feasts, gifts, safe storage for foodstuffs, and so on. This was probably the arrangement for the chiefdoms of the middle Tombigbee watershed. In other cases, the *mico* may have had more control over the *oratas*, even delegating *oratas* to each community. We know from the Natchez, for example, that the Great Sun appointed several of his male kin to preside over the towns in the chiefdom. We also know that some of these kinsmen eventually began to conspire against the Great Sun. Archaeologists agree that such intrapolity political jockeying must have been endemic in Mississippian politics.<sup>14</sup>

The town with the mound was, of course, the administrative center of the chiefdom and the home of the *mico*. The more elaborate mound sites, such as Moundville, reflect the ranked kin networks of the elite lineages. At Moundville, which has twenty-nine mounds, the layout of the mounds is quite patterned, indicating that the central city was deliberately planned. The mounds are situated around a large, open plaza, with the second-largest mound, Mound A, situated in the middle of the plaza (see Figure 1). The largest mound, Mound B, lies on the northern edge of the plaza opposite Mound A. The *mico*'s family undoubtedly lived atop Mound B. On either side of this axis lay numerous minor platform and burial mounds. These minor mounds were the foundations for the homes of those from other elite lineages or clans. Archaeologists propose that the proximity of these minor mounds to Mound B reflect the rank order of elite kin groups. In other words, the clans or lineages that were closest in relation to the *mico* took up residence nearest

Mound B, and those farthest removed had mounds farther down the line but were still located around the plaza.<sup>15</sup>

In the case of a simple chiefdom, there often were two administrative centers (or what archaeologists call “paired mound centers”) that were continuously occupied but between which the central administrative role alternated generationally. Both centers were governed by relatives and heirs of the noble lineage. Of course, in complex and paramount chiefdoms, larger administrative offices filled by local elites oversaw the integration of the simple chiefdoms into a single polity, and there were secondary administrative centers that also had mounds. As mentioned earlier, in the case of paramount chiefdoms, the paramount chief may have been little more than the first among equals.<sup>16</sup>

There is also evidence that not all status was ascribed in the Mississippian world. In the colonial era, Southern Indian men gained status from their exploits in war, and there is some archaeological evidence that this may have been the case in the precontact era as well. Recall that at the Lubbub Creek site, some adult males were buried with ritual items associated with warfare. Since not all men were buried with such accoutrements, archaeologists interpret this to mean that these men had gained some sort of status in life through warfare. The Mississippian military organization, then, was probably based partly on ascribed status and partly on achieved status.<sup>17</sup>

Although all Mississippian men probably joined the military ranks once they became old enough and skilled enough for combat, men from the elite lineages likely joined the ranks at the upper echelons. For those with particularly good military minds, experiences in battle over their lifetime would also lend them some achieved status as war strategists and councillors. These men likely were the military leaders of subunits—what the Spanish called “captains”—and their job probably resembled that of their European counterparts. Nonelite men joined at the lower ranks and moved through a series of graded titles over their lifetime as they gained status and prestige through their exploits in war. Their experiences and ranks also would have given them a voice in the war councils. Among the Natchez, these accomplished men could enter into a titled rank that the French translated as Honored People (women, too, could enter the rank by sacrificing a child at the death of a Sun). The *mico* was the commander in chief, and the war chief or war priest would have been the second in command. The Honored People and warriors of rank would have constituted the war council.<sup>18</sup>

In war councils, a *mico* and his war chief would consult with the top-



ranked military men in strategizing and planning for a war. Since no Europeans observed a Mississippian war council, we have no written records of what was discussed among war councillors or how the deliberations proceeded.<sup>19</sup> Undoubtedly, the ritualization of war meant that strict decorum and discipline were observed throughout the ranks while in war council. Also, given that much status in warrior ranks came from showing good leadership and military skills, officers would have been careful to oversee their squadrons in this regard.<sup>20</sup> In the field, warriors seem to have had some latitude, as we will see when, at the Alimamu barricade, Indian men exhibited bravado through taunts and pantomimes.

We have a little more information about battle tactics from the records of the several engagements of Soto's army. Once on the field of battle, the mico and his war chief, acting as field commanders, would issue orders to their captains and ranked warriors, who would then pass them to their subunits. In the case of allied chiefdoms joining forces, the paramount chief was the field commander; he issued orders to his subordinate micos, who then issued orders to their war chiefs, and so on down the line of command. In short, the graded-rank organization replicated the hierarchical political structure of the chiefdom and allowed a single chief to command hundreds, and sometimes thousands, of warriors.<sup>21</sup>

There was no standing professional army in a chiefdom. As the need arose, warriors were drawn from the population of men in the chiefdom—or, in the case of complex or allied chiefdoms, from the men in the allied or subordinate chiefdoms.<sup>22</sup> As one can see from the Soto narratives, Mississippian micos could mobilize and deploy their forces relatively quickly, as when the mico of Chicaza apparently fielded a 200-man force against Sacchuma in the course of a day. In cases where large forces were amassed, mobilizing the army would have taken a few days. In the battle of Mabila, for instance, Tascalusa may have used various delay tactics to keep Soto away from Mabila for several days so that his forces could be readied.<sup>23</sup> This also may have been the case in the battle of Chicaza. Obviously, Chicaza chose the time for the attack on the Spanish forces, and he most likely had been in war councils for days or even weeks before the attack.

Mississippian war commanders used two basic strategies: guerilla or harassing raids and formal battles. In the raids, small groups of warriors would penetrate into enemy territory, perform a quick strike, and then retreat. The idea was to keep the enemy off guard and anxious.<sup>24</sup> We see this at Chicaza when Chicaza "spies" kept the Spanish unnerved and fatigued through their

constant harrying of them over the winter. Soto, however, traveled with large war dogs that he used for tracking down Indians. Sometimes he would have Indian men and women thrown to the dogs, who would tear them to pieces. These dogs, along with pigs and horses, were sensitive to sounds and smells and thus also provided early warning to the Spaniards—dampening, to some degree, the Indians' use of guerilla raiding and harassment.<sup>25</sup>

The second strategy, that of formal battles, involved the full army and chain of command. In some cases, rival *micos* agreed to do battle and engaged each other at preappointed times and places. This may help explain Soto's battle with the Alimamu at their perplexing fortress, which will be recounted presently. Most formal battles, however, appear to have been either offensive or defensive. In defensive battles, warriors defended a town or mound center from a hostile force. Offensive battles involved coordinated assaults against towns and mound centers in battle formation, with the full suite of commanders and warriors (Figure 5).<sup>26</sup> Offensive battles often employed an element of surprise, as we saw when Chicaza warriors attacked one of the border towns of Sacchuma. Also, in the battle of Chicaza, recall that Chicaza first sent a contingent into the town in the predawn hours to ignite several fires in order to create surprise, chaos, and confusion. Once the fires had been started, four squadrons attacked in an orderly fashion, from different sides. Mississippian warriors used bows and arrows in these attacks; especially effective was the use of fire arrows, as we saw at Chicaza.<sup>27</sup> Typically, once inside the town walls, warriors preferred hand-to-hand combat with war clubs. In fact, the war club, not the bow and arrow, was the main icon of masculinity and warfare. However, in confronting Soto's army, the hand-to-hand tactic became a lethal liability because of Spanish mounted lancers. As Mississippian men stood stock still waiting to face their opponents, they were easy targets for the lancers. This is one reason why Mississippian warriors combating the Spaniards were so intent on killing, releasing, or taking as many horses as they could. They clearly understood the advantage horses gave to the Spaniards in combat.<sup>28</sup>

Organized, formal battles were of short duration. One reason for this was that the objective of such battles was not to occupy a town or chiefdom or annihilate an enemy but rather to subdue, punish, or incorporate them into one's own polity. This could be done through a series of raids and formal battles, and especially through the capture of the *mico* or other elites. Second, as Soto found out, an occupying army would soon face the problem of food shortages because there was not enough surplus in most chiefdoms to



FIGURE 5 Engraving depicting a Late Mississippian chief going to war with his army (Engraving by Theodor de Bry, after “The Military Discipline Observed by Outina when Leaving for War,” by Jacques Le Moyne. © Philip Spruyt/Corbis.)

sustain a long-term occupation by a foreign army.<sup>29</sup> Therefore, battles could be pitched and violent, but they typically did not last through the day. Time and again, as the Soto chronicles report, Indian forces attacked the Spaniards, only to quickly withdraw. As we will see, in the case of Chicaza, the warriors planned a second attack the following night, but this was canceled because of bad weather. The second attack came about a week later, but it was only a brief skirmish and was not repeated.

When targeting a mound center, offensive warfare often inflicted an element of desecration, as warriors would ransack the sacred temples that held the remains of their opponents’ ancestors as well as sacred grave offerings. One particularly dramatic episode occurred sometime between 1350 and 1375 C.E., when the mound center of Etowah was sacked. The attackers threw two marble statuettes, one female and one male—most likely sacred

representations of the first humans—off the side of the mound. Twentieth-century archaeologists later recovered them, and the statuettes are today in the Etowah Mounds Museum.<sup>30</sup> The attacking army would also single out the mico's house on the mound for destruction and pillaging. Soto witnessed this firsthand about a year later, when the Indians of Casqui, near the Mississippi River in present-day Arkansas, took advantage of Soto's alliance to attack their enemy, Pacaha.<sup>31</sup> Successful offensive warriors also looted a defeated town for food and other items before burning it. Cloth, especially, was a favorite item.<sup>32</sup> Taking captives, also, was a regular part of Mississippian warfare. In fact, according to Alonso de Carmona, one of Garcilaso's informants, Indian warriors had come to the battle of Chicaza with three cords tied around their waists—one for tying up a Spaniard, one for a horse, and one for a pig.<sup>33</sup>

The cord for the Spaniard was undoubtedly for taking the soldier as a war captive. Unfortunately, we know little about Mississippian-era war captives. Archaeologists interpret the biological evidence from burials during the Mississippi Period as indicating that most men in the losing army were killed in combat and that women and children were not spared. Mississippian warriors took human body parts as war trophies, and because male status was largely based on exploits in war, an attack usually resulted in "relatively indiscriminate slaughter," as warriors would kill or maim anyone in order to obtain a war trophy. If any captives were taken, they were few in number and almost certainly young women.<sup>34</sup>

We know little about the fate of these Mississippian captives. Some may have been ritually killed or sacrificed, some may have been adopted or married into a family, and some may have been used as slaves. The Soto narratives mention that micos occasionally gave Soto slaves, so apparently slaves were used to garner allies or appease enemies. The only written account of the treatment of war captives from this time comes from Juan Ortiz, Soto's translator, who had been captured from the Narváez expedition off the coast of central Florida and held in captivity for twelve years before being released to Soto. Ortiz had been held in captivity by Uzita, the mico of a chiefdom by the same name (see Map 1). At first, Uzita determined to torture Ortiz to death and ordered him bound by hand and foot across a grill, underneath which a fire was built. Uzita's daughter, however, intervened, reasoning that a single Spaniard could not do them much harm and that it would be more to Uzita's honor to hold Ortiz as captive.<sup>35</sup>

Elvas related that Uzita eventually put Ortiz in charge of guarding the

sacred temple, and that Ortiz had gained favor with the mico by retrieving the corpse of one of the elite's dead children, which some wolves had snatched from the temple. Later, though, after a skirmish with an enemy polity under the leadership of Mocoso, Ortiz for some reason fell out of favor with Uzita, and Uzita decided to sacrifice him. Uzita's daughter again intervened, and she surreptitiously instructed Ortiz to flee to Mocoso, where she said he would find safety because she had heard that Mocoso hoped to have Ortiz as a subject.<sup>36</sup>

According to Garcilaso, Ortiz suffered greatly while in captivity under Uzita. He always wore some sort of cuff or shackle; he was deprived of adequate food and sleep; and he suffered daily beatings. Uzita also forced Ortiz to carry out daily tasks, such as fetching wood and water, and he subjected him to torturous games. At one festival, for example, he commanded Ortiz to run around the plaza without stopping, while Indian men shot arrows at him. Mocoso apparently treated Ortiz better; after having Ortiz swear allegiance to him, Mocoso swore that he would "show him much honor." According to Biedma, Ortiz knew little about the land beyond where he had been held captive. Obviously, slaves were not allowed to travel freely. When Soto arrived nine years later, Mocoso, in an effort to win favor with the Spaniards so that he could enlist them in subduing other chiefdoms such as his longtime enemy Uzita, allowed Ortiz to rejoin his countrymen. Until his death in 1542, Ortiz served as an invaluable translator for Soto.<sup>37</sup>

There is ample archaeological evidence of physical coercion of people during the Mississippi Period and some evidence that these people may have been war captives. The best examples of physical coercion are the famous retainer burials. As seen in the Mound 72 burials at Cahokia, when a chief died, men and women were often killed and buried with him or her. In fact, in one stupendous burial episode at Mound 72, four men with their heads and hands cut off and fifty-three young women (aged fifteen to thirty) were sacrificed. At their deaths, the women were undernourished and hence probably of a lower status than the elites. Bioarchaeologists also believe that most of these women were from populations outside of Cahokia proper, and they suggest that they likely were war captives.<sup>38</sup>

At Chicaza, the chroniclers do not mention warriors taking captives or trophies. As many as twelve Spanish soldiers died in the fray, most of them burned to death. One Spanish woman, Francisca de Hinestrosa, who was the pregnant wife of Hernando Bautista, also died when she ran back into her burning house to retrieve some of the pearls the soldiers had pillaged

at Cofitachequi. Some of those who survived their burns were so badly injured that they had to be carried on litters by Indian slaves whenever the army moved over the next several days. Over fifty horses perished in the fires, as well as 300 to 400 pigs, which had been enclosed in a pen the Spaniards had built. Only one Indian is known to have been killed—the warrior struck by Soto.<sup>39</sup>

The fires also consumed whatever remaining clothing, saddlery, and weapons that the Spaniards had managed to salvage from the battle of Mabila the year before. At Chicaza, they only saved a few weapons, a few coats of mail, some lances, and a few saddles. The surviving horses and pigs scattered across the countryside. As evening fell on the day of the battle, the soldiers, most of whom had escaped in only their bedclothes, built large fires to keep warm and spent the whole night “turning from one side to the other without sleeping, for if they were warmed on one side they froze on the other.” Some fashioned mats out of dry grass to sleep on, which afforded some relief from the night cold.<sup>40</sup> The Spaniards must have felt especially vulnerable at that moment; all the chroniclers reported that if the Indians had launched a second attack that night, they could have “routed them with little trouble” and that “not a man of all of us would have escaped.” Biedma later learned that the Indians actually had planned another attack for that night, but when it rained, they abandoned their plan.<sup>41</sup>

The next day, Soto moved his army about one league to Chicacilla, the town where the mico of Chicaza had been staying.<sup>42</sup> This was a small town with a “cabin” and a few “huts,” so most of the army camped on the slight hills adjacent to the town. This town was probably in the Black Prairie, as both Rangel and Elvas described it as situated in a savannah or open field. The ending of the town name, *cilla*, is a Spanish suffix indicating a diminutive form. In other words, one could translate the name from the Spanish as “Little Chicaza.”<sup>43</sup>

Five days later, again near dawn, Indian warriors launched another attack. In well-formed squadrons, they approached the Spanish encampment. This time, Spanish watch guards detected them and sounded the alarm. At this, and with much shouting, the Indians descended on the encampment from three sides. Soto quickly drew his men into three companies and, leaving some soldiers behind to guard the camp, advanced to meet the Indian warriors. After a brief skirmish, the Indians retreated, and they did not return again.<sup>44</sup>

The expedition remained at Chicacilla for almost two more months.

There, as at Mabila the previous year, the Spaniards scavenged what they could from the battle site. They set up a makeshift forge and made a bellows from bear hides, which they used to temper the swords that had been burnt at Chicaza. However, by this point, they were so poorly equipped that many of the men cut down ash trees in the area and used the wood to fashion new lances, shields, bows, and arrows. They also rounded up the stray horses and made new saddle frames.<sup>45</sup> The men tended the wounded and gathered intelligence from captured Indians about the lands beyond Chicaza. Soto learned that to the northwest lay an uninhabited area that would take the army approximately seven or more days to cross.<sup>46</sup> This meant that their provisions would need to last that long, and although the chroniclers did not report it, one can assume that while at Chicacilla, Spanish soldiers fanned out through the countryside to take whatever foodstuffs they could find. Elvas reported that there was a low supply of corn at Chicacilla, and it is reasonable to suppose that other towns in Chicaza and the adjacent polities were likewise suffering from food shortages, having supported Soto's army through a rough winter. In Garcilaso's account, Soto, in a fit of revenge, also sent out fourteen or fifteen cavalries every day to scour the countryside looking for Indians to kill.<sup>47</sup>

The army departed from Chicacilla and the province of Chicaza on April 26, 1541. They traveled for one day, passing many hamlets before entering the polity of Alimamu. They spent the night in the first town they came to, which was likely the principal town of the province since the chroniclers report that the town was also named Alimamu. This site has not been found archaeologically, either, but it might have been on Line or Tibbee Creek in present-day northeast Mississippi.<sup>48</sup> From his prior experiences in the Mississippian world, Soto knew that it was dangerous to attempt crossing the vast uninhabited area without enough food. At the town of Alimamu, the townspeople had hidden what remained of their corn supply, and the soldiers spent some time looking for it. The next day, Soto sent three of his captains with horse and foot soldiers in all directions to search out and steal whatever remaining provisions they could find.<sup>49</sup>

Their first day out, a scouting party led by Juan de Añasco came upon what to them was a perplexing and strange sight. The Indians of Alimamu had built a barricade across the middle of the roadway on which the Spaniards were traveling, and as many as 300 warriors were stationed there, waiting for them. According to Garcilaso, the fortification was a wooden, square-shaped fort with three low doorways—one in the center and two on the corners.

One of the outside walls abutted a steep stream bank, over which the Indians had built small footbridges. Inside the fort were two other walls with low doorways.<sup>50</sup>

As the Spaniards stood in the roadway eyeing the fort, Alimamu warriors stood atop the fort walls eyeing the Spaniards. The warriors were in full battle regalia. Mississippian warriors went to battle only in breechclouts, but they painted and adorned themselves in elaborate ways. In this case, the Alimamu men had painted stripes on their torsos, arms, and legs with red, white, and yellow pigments. Some wore feather plumes on their heads, while others wore horns. Some had painted their faces black with red rings around their eyes. From evidence in later centuries, we know that red and black were the colors of war—black represented death and red represented success. Overall, the Alimamu warriors looked quite fierce.<sup>51</sup>

When the Spanish approached, some of the warriors rushed out of the palisade “in a great fury” to meet them in battle. With only a small force, Añasco thought better about engaging them. Instead, he instructed his men to withdraw out of an arrow’s reach, and he sent messengers to inform Soto of the provocation. Añasco’s footmen placed themselves in front of the horsemen so as to protect the horses with their shields from Indian arrows. In this formation, they waited for reinforcements. As they waited, the Alimamu warriors taunted and threatened them. Daring warriors darted from the barricade to shoot arrows at them and to shout verbal threats and insults. At one point, within view of the Spanish, they made a fire and seized one of their own by his head and feet and then pretended to beat him on the head with their war clubs and to throw him into the fire. They signaled to the Spanish that a similar fate awaited them.<sup>52</sup>

Soto and the whole army rushed to Añasco’s aid. Although he could have easily avoided this confrontation by taking an alternate route, Soto decided to engage the Alimamu warriors. Soto likely made this decision in part because he knew that he had to demonstrate his own fearlessness whenever confronted, lest the Indians think him weak and intimidated; and he also may have believed that the Alimamu were staging such a strong defense in order to protect their food stores, and he and his men desperately needed food at this point.<sup>53</sup>

Soto ordered the horsemen to dismount and divided them into four companies. They then charged the fort. Both sides fought hard, and when the Spaniards managed to breach the outer wall, the Alimamu warriors retreated across the footbridges they had placed over the adjoining stream. Alimamu



strategists had obviously thought about how to fight the Spanish. The site and the design of the fortification were tailored for fighting a force whose most formidable weapons were lancers on horseback. The doors were low enough so that horses could not enter them. Low doorways were a common feature of Mississippian architecture, but Alimamu builders may have intentionally built these doorways low enough to prevent the entrance of the Spanish horse guard. The steep banks of the stream abutting the fort also meant that the horses could not cross it. Thus, the Alimamu warriors could escape and the Spanish could not effectively pursue them. Only three Alimamu died in the altercation. Seven or eight Spaniards died at the scene, and about twenty-five were wounded, of which fifteen died from their wounds a few days later while on the march.<sup>54</sup>

A story told only by Garcilaso reflects the individual-level martial competitions that were a part of Mississippian warfare. According to Garcilaso, once across the stream, an Alimamu man signaled that he wished to go one-on-one with a Spanish soldier in a deadly contest of archery. At this, a Spanish crossbow man, Juan de Salinas, stepped forward. Each contestant positioned himself on opposite sides of the river. Each nocked his arrow—Salinas using a crossbow and the Alimamu using an Indian bow. Then, at a signal, they simultaneously let their arrows fly. Each bowman hit their mark. The Alimamu man struck Salinas in the neck, just behind the left ear, and the arrow penetrated his neck. Salinas's arrow hit the Alimamu man square in the chest. According to Garcilaso, Salinas survived the wound. But his informant thought that the Alimamu man, who was caught by his fellow warriors before he hit the ground and whisked away, probably died from his wound. Also, according to Garcilaso, the other Alimamu warriors did not retaliate because they respected this as a match between single warriors. As usual, we must be somewhat skeptical of the accuracy of Garcilaso's story, but such one-on-one contests to the death were common in Mississippian warfare, as warriors often challenged other warriors of equal or better skill. Those who were successful in such combat would undoubtedly recount such stories later when "striking the post," a postwar boasting ritual.<sup>55</sup>

The chronicler Biedma was quite puzzled over this battle with the Alimamu. Biedma understood the Alimamu to be staging a defense, yet once inside the fort, the Spaniards found nothing—no food, no houses, and no women, children, or elderly. Biedma claimed that some captured Indians explained that Alimamu warriors staged the encounter only because they wanted to prove themselves against the Spanish.<sup>56</sup> Although Biedma thought

that risking life and limb merely to prove one's might against another's was outrageous, we now know that such defiant posturing would have been typical in the Mississippian military order. Plus, the mico of Alimamu undoubtedly knew about, and perhaps even participated in, the attack at Chicaza. That he would want to manufacture his own proving ground at this point makes sense in the context of Mississippian warfare and Mississippian politics. In other words, the mico of Alimamu may have been using the offensive against the Spaniards as a way to assert his own power and influence and perhaps even to challenge Chicaza.

After this attack, Soto and his men stayed at the town of Alimamu for another three days looking for food, but they found only a little. With supplies running dangerously low and none to be found nearby, Soto was forced to break camp and risk continuing across the large, uninhabited zone to the northwest in hopes of finding better stores of food in the next polity. On May 8, 1541, they reached the town of Quizquiz, where the people had no foreknowledge of Soto's approach.

Soto would later die on the Mississippi River, and the 300 or so survivors of the expedition eventually made their way back to New Spain. Although the first instance of contact between the Old World and Chicaza lasted less than five months and the Spaniards did not succeed in planting a successful colony, Soto's presence heralded the beginning of the European invasion and many changes for the polity and people of Chicaza—indeed, for the whole of the Mississippian world.

## CHAPTER 3

### *The Aftermath of Soto, ca. 1541–1650*

Chicaza and the other chiefdoms of present-day northeast Mississippi either fell or underwent fundamental reorganizations after the Soto entrada. Unfortunately, the history of the years between 1541, the last year that Soto was in Chicaza, and 1682, the year of the first European encounter with Natives from this region following Soto, is undocumented, and the archaeology for these 140 years is quite sparse. However, we can place Chicaza within the history of the larger Mississippian world in the first decades after Soto's invasion, for which we have better information and from which we can make some inferences about what happened at Chicaza.

Most scholars agree that the military losses at the hands of the early explorers and the destabilization of Native chiefdoms had a profound effect on many Mississippian polities. Soto and his men came as a conquering army, and the intense combat of a direct military assault by the Spanish may have precipitated the collapse of some chiefdoms. This was probably the case at the chiefdoms of Napituca in northern Florida, Anlico in Arkansas, and Tascalusa in Alabama.<sup>1</sup> Unlike these battles, Indian casualties at the battles of Chicaza and Alimamu seem to have been low. Therefore, it is unlikely that Spanish conflicts with Chicaza and Alimamu alone could account for the fall of these chiefdoms.

Soto's prolonged stay and ransacking of the region for food, however, would have had quite serious repercussions. As we have seen, when Soto and his army of 600-plus men trekked through the southern interior, they depended on the food stores of Native people. Not only did the Spaniards take food throughout the winter at Chicaza, but they also stole food for their

anticipated seven-day (or more) trek across the large uninhabited zone to Quizquiz. All of the chroniclers remarked on the scarcity of food by March and especially on the Spaniards' inability to refurbish their stores in preparation for the upcoming journey. Clearly, Soto's army had depleted local stores as well as any emergency surpluses. Although Mississippian people knew much about utilizing wild plant and animal foods, such a shortage of stored cultivated crops would have meant hardship for all and starvation for some. Plus, the leadership of the Tombigbee chiefdoms partly derived from being able to procure and secure stores of food for just such emergencies, and if the leadership failed on this count, these polities could also have been subjected to political unrest.<sup>2</sup>

Mississippian polities were no strangers to internal political stresses that could easily break into out-and-out rebellions. Scholars have long attributed the rise and fall of Mississippian chiefdoms to chronic warfare and factional competition between elites within a chiefdom. As we have seen, the lines of leadership in Mississippian politics were multiple and gave ample opportunity for contesting successions to office. This was especially true during times of stress and during succession to the chieftainship, as the bitter contestation between elites in Guale and Apalachee during the seventeenth century attests.<sup>3</sup> Factions, then, could develop within lineages and between the ranked lineages, resulting in a continuous jockeying for power within a polity's political order. If, as suggested above, Soto's depletion of local food stores created civil unrest, any number of political factions would have been ready to exploit the situation.

It is likely that Soto's presence upset the balance of power in other ways as well. Records from the expedition across the South describe several instances when micos of chiefdoms were challenging and defying the authority of a chief under whose power they had fallen. We saw this at Chicaza when Sacchuma refused to pay tribute. In these political struggles, the more powerful mico often enlisted Soto's influence and military aid to extinguish the rebellion, as Chicaza did. In some cases, such as that of Casqui and Pacaha, a savvy lesser mico used Soto to bolster his authority and military in challenging an overarching mico. In either case, given the fragile nature of the ties binding simple chiefdom alliances, complex chiefdoms, and paramount chiefdoms, the presence of a new and powerful ally could easily upset the balance of power, resulting in a reshuffling of authority. At Chicaza, there is good evidence for such political maneuvering between Chicaza and his subordinate mico at Sacchuma, and the Alimamu stand may also have been another tactic

to assert authority over and independence from Chicaza. Similar episodes occurred at Tascalusa, Cofitachequi, Coosa, and Guachoya.<sup>4</sup>

In order to grasp something of Chicaza's fate after Soto, let us place the history of that polity within a regional picture of life after Soto. Of all of the polities through which Soto passed, Coosa's history is the best known. At the time of the Soto entrada, Coosa was a large paramount chiefdom that spanned about 300 miles from eastern Tennessee into central Alabama (see Map 1 and Figure 6). This area has a rich Mississippi Period history, including the rise and fall of one of the most impressive of all Mississippian chiefdoms: Etowah. However, Etowah had fallen around 1350–75 C.E., and by the time of the Soto entrada, the simple chiefdom of Coosa in the Coosawattee River valley in northwest Georgia had risen to prominence and forged a paramount chiefdom by bringing several polities into alliance.

Three Spanish expeditions encountered Coosa: the Soto expedition in 1540, a reconnaissance from the expedition of Tristán de Luna in 1560, and the expeditions of Juan Pardo between 1566 and 1568. Of these, only Soto passed through the entire paramouncy. He had kidnapped the paramount chief, also named Coosa, and through him was guaranteed safe passage through the full length of the polity. From these accounts, we know that the chiefdoms under Coosa's influence included Muskogean-speaking Coosa in the Coosawattee Valley, which also was the central chiefdom; Tasqui, on the Hiwassee River; Itaba, made up of the descendants of Etowah who still lived in the Etowah River valley near present-day Cartersville, Georgia; Ulibahali, probably located at the headwaters of the Coosa River near present-day Rome, Georgia; Napoochin, on the Tennessee River near present-day Chattanooga, Tennessee; Talisi, on the Coosa or Tallapoosa River; the Coushatta-speaking Coste, on the Little Tennessee River; and Chiaha (also known as Olamico), centered in and around Zimmerman's Island in the French Broad River in east Tennessee (see Figure 6).<sup>5</sup>

Soto passed through Coosa in 1540, and eyewitnesses described it as an expansive, fertile province with numerous large towns and abundant agricultural fields stretching from town to town. Twenty years later, when a contingent from the Luna expedition surveyed Coosa, they were disappointed to find only small towns, many abandoned agricultural fields, and a much smaller population. In addition, archaeological evidence hints at the possibility that the leadership had passed from Coosa's lineage to another lineage in these twenty years. The central town of Coosa, the Little Egypt archaeological site on the Coosawattee River, was reduced by 1560, while the

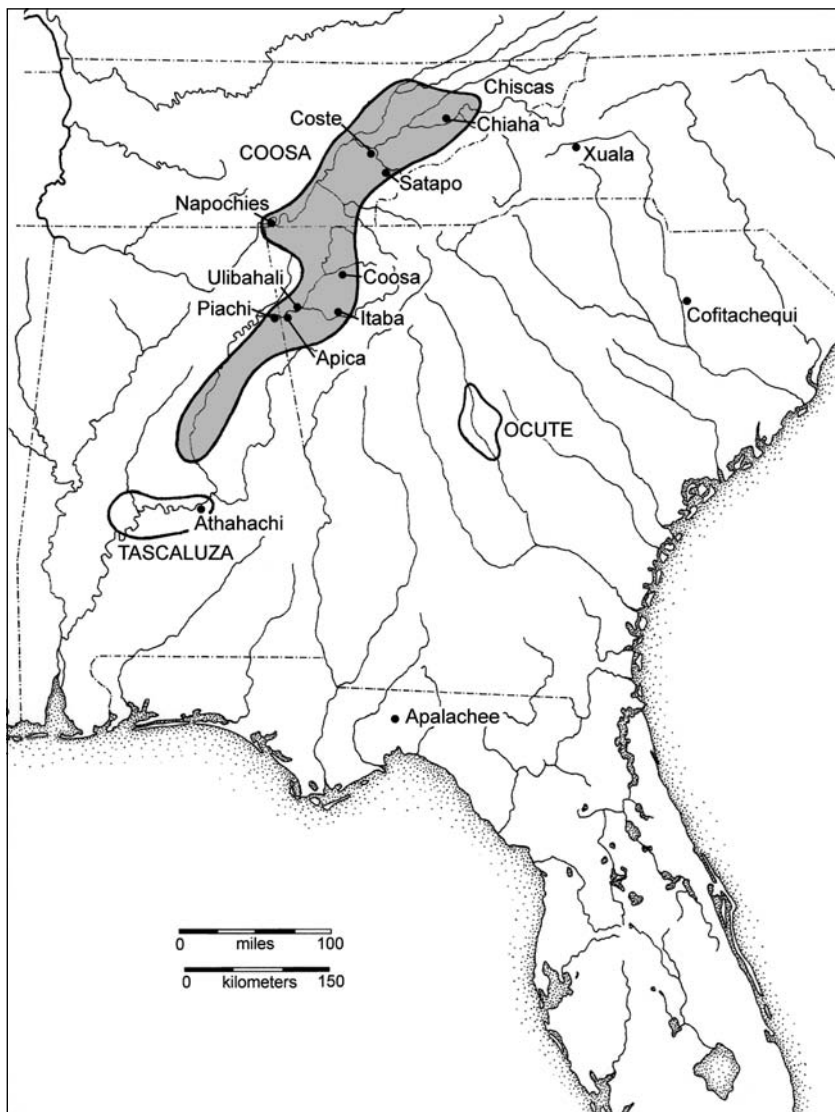


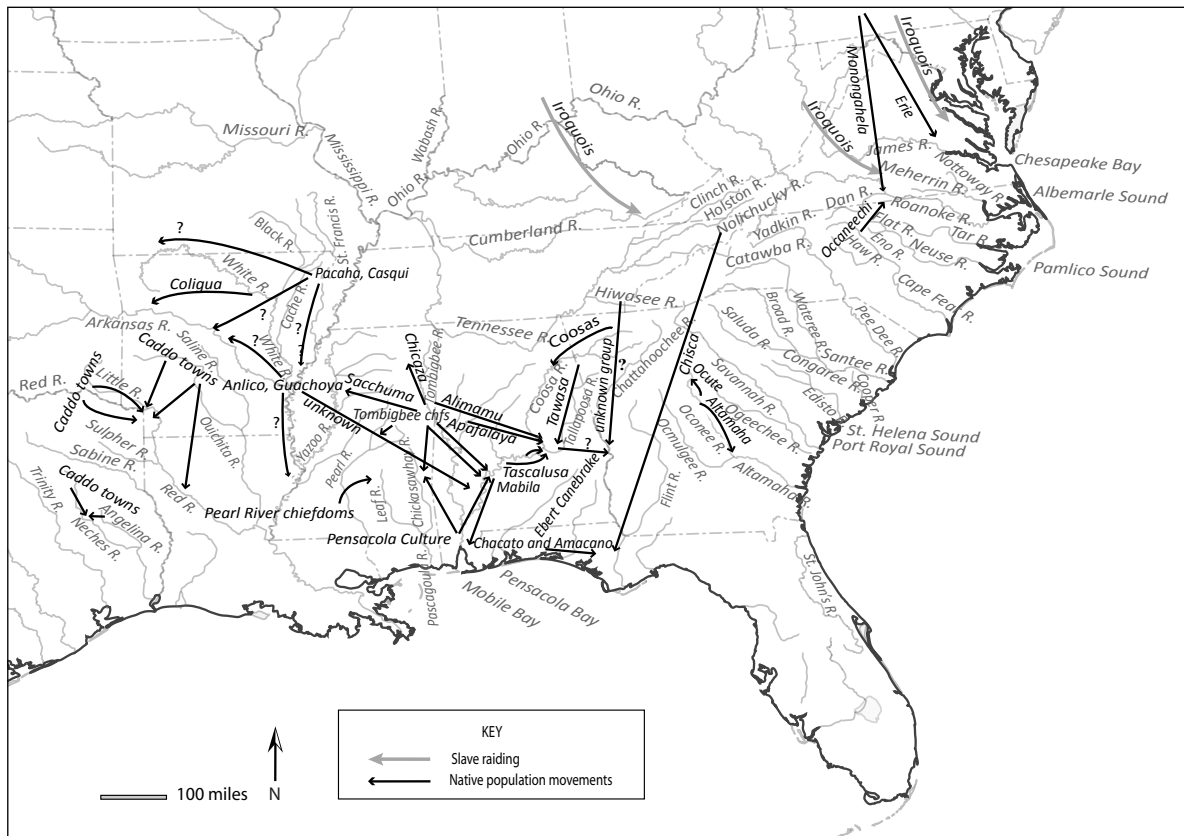
FIGURE 6 The paramount chiefdom of Coosa (Drawing by Julie Barnes Smith. Adapted from Marvin T. Smith, *Coosa: The Rise and Fall of a Southeastern Mississippian Chiefdom*, 2 [Figure 1]. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000.)

Brown Farm site, located about fifteen miles downstream from Little Egypt and a small village at the time of Soto, had grown by 1560.<sup>6</sup> Luna's contingent aided the paramount chief of Coosa in subjugating the rebellious Napochins, which would also indicate some political instability. Even so, when Pardo's army encountered the northern edge of Coosa in present-day Tennessee in 1568, it was still a large, expansive polity, and the paramount chief still commanded enough influence to organize a coalition of chiefs to threaten Pardo—so much so that Pardo decided to return to Santa Elena rather than risk a military altercation with the Coosa army.<sup>7</sup>

Certainly the Soto expedition destabilized Coosa, as evidenced by the accounts of the later Luna expedition. The paramountcy seems to have faltered for a few decades, recovered somewhat, and then, sometime after the Pardo expedition in 1568, fallen into steep decline. Archaeologists propose that Coosa's decline occurred because of the introduction of Old World diseases by the Spanish expeditions and a subsequent severe loss of life.<sup>8</sup> I would argue, however, that Coosa, as a paramount chiefdom, could well have been one of the most unstable political entities in the Mississippian world. It could have fallen for any number of reasons, including the social and economic instability brought on by Soto's march through the entire province.<sup>9</sup>

Archaeologists have pieced together a series of migrations for the people of northwest Georgia who once comprised part of the paramount chiefdom of Coosa. All of the known polities of Coosa in northwest Georgia visited by the Spaniards were abandoned by the late sixteenth century, and the people began a 200-year sojourn down the Coosa River valley. By around 1600, the survivors of the fallen chiefdoms of Coosa, Ulibahali, and Itaba moved southwest about sixty miles and congregated together around present-day Weiss Reservoir on the Coosa River at the Georgia and Alabama border (Map 2). During Coosa's reign, each of these chiefdoms had its own central mound town and several affiliated towns. At the Weiss Reservoir, archaeologists have only found four or five town sites in total, indicating a dramatic contraction of the population. Then, around 1630, the survivors moved about thirty miles downstream to Whorton's Bend, near present-day Gadsden, Alabama. There they congregated into only three towns, most likely separated according to their old affiliations of Coosa, Itaba, and Ulibahali.<sup>10</sup>

MAP 2 (opposite) Slave Raiding and Some Indian Population Movements, ca. 1550–1650 (Note: the gray arrows represent generalized patterns, while the black arrows represent discrete movements of populations with varying degrees of certainty.)





Little else is known about the lives of these people over these sixty or so years, except to say that they moved into smaller towns, changed some of their pottery designs and tempering agents for their paste, and began digging earthen pits, perhaps for storing (and hiding) foodstuffs. Once at Whorton's Bend, they also began hunting bison — something unknown in the precontact era since bison probably did not enter into the South until sometime during the Mississippian collapse.<sup>11</sup> One of the most dramatic changes, however, was the fact that they quit building mounds and by extension quit burying people in them, indicating a leveling of the social and political hierarchy. There were also changes in the distribution of European goods. During the era of Spanish exploration, Soto and the other conquistadors gave highly valued gifts to micos and other elites. In the more centralized chiefdoms, these goods did not circulate much outside of the elite lineage, and elites were usually buried with them in the mounds. By the early seventeenth century, however, not only did the former people of Coosa quit building mounds, but European artifacts (coming from Spanish Florida and to be discussed presently) were also being placed in a high percentage of burials, suggesting that “virtually everyone had access to European goods” at this time. In other words, within sixty years after Soto's passage through Coosa, the elite hierarchy appears to have been crumbling or had already crumbled.<sup>12</sup>

Archaeologists also have been able to reconstruct something about the history of polities that attacked Soto at Mabila in present-day central Alabama, as well as the aftermath of the battle. The upper Alabama River and lower Tallapoosa River were only sparsely occupied during the Middle Mississippian period. At this time, populations were congregated in the grand Middle Mississippian sites such as Etowah, Moundville, and Bottle Creek (located in the Mobile-Tensaw Delta region). However, all of these large Middle Mississippian polities failed sometime in the late fifteenth century, at which time groups from these fallen chiefdoms and elsewhere began to congregate in the upper Alabama and lower Tallapoosa river basins. At the time of the Soto entrada, as we have seen, at least three or four polities had emerged in this region: Talisi, Tascalusa, Mabila, and perhaps Piachi (see Figure 3). Recent archaeological investigations indicate that, unlike their Middle Mississippian predecessors, these polities were not homogenous, monolingual political entities but rather multilingual, heterogenous polities wherein the descendants of people from various fallen Middle Mississippian chiefdoms lived side by side in the same towns. We know this because Lamar, Moundville, and Pensacola ceramics (representing populations from present-day northeast Georgia,

the Black Warrior River, and the Alabama Gulf coast) are found together at Late Mississippian sites there.<sup>13</sup>

The attack against the Spanish intruders was orchestrated by Tascalusa, a powerful *mico* who was likely building a paramount chiefdom in central Alabama at the time of the expedition. The province of Tascalusa coincides with the archaeological ceramic complex known as the Big Eddy phase (which dates to 1450–1575 C.E.) and is likely represented by a cluster of Late Mississippian sites on the upper Alabama River (see Map 1). Atahachi, the central town of Tascalusa, was probably located at the Charlotte Thompson site.<sup>14</sup> Tascalusa held great authority within his own polity, and he had some power and influence in the adjacent polities of Mabila, Piachi, and perhaps Talisi.<sup>15</sup> The battle of Mabila was costly to the Indians of Tascalusa, and, assuming he recruited warriors from his allies, it was costly for Mabila, Piachi, and Talisi as well. Reportedly, over 3,000 men were killed, which would have been a devastating blow to all of the towns and polities that participated.<sup>16</sup> Even so, Tascalusa's losses at Mabila apparently did not spell immediate disaster, as people continued to put earthen mantles on the mound at Atahachi at least until around 1560. We know this because some of the gifts brought by Luna's men when they visited there were buried in the mound. However, the Luna reports on Tascalusa are skimpy, and the archaeology shows that several of the surrounding mound sites and small farming communities were abandoned by this time. This suggests that Tascalusa was no longer the noteworthy polity that Soto had encountered. The archaeology also suggests that the paramuncy, and perhaps the chiefdom of Tascalusa, disintegrated at least fifteen years later, by 1575, if not earlier.<sup>17</sup>

This date marks the beginning of a new ceramic phase in central Alabama known as the Alabama River phase (1575 to 1700 C.E.). The term "phase" is an archaeological term used to refer to the spatial and temporal distribution of a particular ceramic manufacturing technique and design. The Alabama River phase, then, refers to a group of ceramics with similar design and manufacturing traits and to the sites on which these ceramics are found. Archaeologists also assign beginning and end dates to phases when possible. In general, a phase represents the life of a particular ceramic tradition and where that ceramic tradition was practiced.<sup>18</sup> In this case, people on the upper Alabama River made Alabama River-phase ceramics from about 1575 to 1700. Analysis of these ceramics reveals that the potters were likely people from the former polity of Tascalusa coalescing with people leaving the Black Warrior and Tombigbee River valleys (see Map 2). The long span of time covered by

this phase prevents us from getting a fine historical resolution on these movements. Suffice it to say for now that during these 125 years, the people on the upper Alabama quit building mounds and central towns and began living in smaller, compact towns with no mounds. They also quit their elaborate mortuary customs for the elite, and there is no evidence of social hierarchy. They quit their extensive trade in exotic, prestige goods. They went through a particularly bad period of poor health, probably resulting from a dramatic change in diet from largely cultivated foods to mostly wild foods. And they began burying their dead children in urns. Eventually, they constricted their settlements to the northeast at the confluence of the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers. The distinctive Lamar, Moundville, and Bottle Creek ceramic traditions that once coexisted on the upper Alabama River now blended with the pottery styles of refugees into the homogenous Alabama River-phase ceramics, indicating a blending of social and political identities into a single affiliation.<sup>19</sup>

The chiefdom of Mabila, which took the brunt of Soto's wrath after the battle of Mabila, felt the impact of initial contact more forcefully than those on the upper Alabama. Although the site of the battle of Mabila remains unknown, archaeologists generally place the town and the province on the Alabama River south of Tascalusa's province. The Mabila and Piachi provinces may be represented by the archaeological ceramic complex known as the Furman phase (1400–1575 C.E.), which begins southwest of the Coosa-Tallapoosa confluence and extends along the upper and middle Alabama River (see Map 1 and Figure 3). Although Furman-phase sites are located all along the upper and middle Alabama, archaeologists divide the sites into two clusters: one, known as the Wilcox cluster, is centered around the Matthew's Landing mound site in present-day Wilcox County, Alabama, and the other is a cluster of Furman-phase sites centered around the Durant Bend site in present-day Dallas County, Alabama, and known as the Cahaba cluster. Archaeologists are in general agreement that the province of Mabila is almost certainly represented by one of these clusters, although they have yet to determine which one. Piachi may be represented by one of these Furman-phase sites, with Durant Bend being a likely candidate. If Piachi was indeed the name of a province as well as a town, then the province may be represented by one of these clusters.<sup>20</sup>

The fate of both the Mabilians and the Piachians after the battle with Soto is unknown; however, the archaeology attests to some dramatic settlement shifts. In the Wilcox cluster, the mound center at Matthew's Landing and the

surrounding farmsteads were abandoned almost immediately and soon replaced by a series of large nucleated towns. Ceramic analysis from one of the large towns, the Liddell site, shows an amalgam of people from present-day western Alabama, eastern Mississippi, the Gulf region, and the Mississippi Valley joining together at the town (see Map 2). Bioarchaeological evidence shows that both adults and teenagers in these towns suffered from an increase in anemia and infections, implying that overall health declined. People from as far away as the central Mississippi River valley may have migrated to this vicinity in the late sixteenth century; at the Liddell site, archaeologists have found ceramics with decorations closely resembling those from the Mississippi River. At Durant Bend in the Cahaba cluster, people stayed at the site after the battle of Mabila, but the Furman-phase ceramics were replaced by a local manifestation of Alabama River-phase ceramics. Recent analysis of the Durant Bend ceramics shows that people from other areas moved to the site, indicating an absorption of migrants. Then, sometime in the early seventeenth century prior to 1650, all of these sites associated with Mabila and Piachi were abandoned. Archaeologists suggest that those in the Wilcox cluster moved downstream into the Mobile-Tensaw Delta, where they became part of the historically known Mobilans, and that those from the Cahaba cluster moved northeast to join those citizens of the former Tascalusa chiefdom at the Coosa and Tallapoosa confluence (see Map 2). The middle Alabama River would not be reoccupied again until after the American Revolution.<sup>21</sup>

Around 1600, the people of Apafalaya also joined those congregating at the Coosa-Tallapoosa juncture. Their migration had begun about twenty-five years earlier, around 1575. Within about fifteen years after Soto's march through their province on the Black Warrior River, the people of Apafalaya, already much reduced from the glorious days of Moundville, began to move south into the Black Prairie near present-day Faunsdale, Alabama. A few decades later, they decided to move again, this time to the east to the confluence of the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers, where they joined the other towns already assembling there. By the early seventeenth century, all of the towns along the juncture of the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers were growing large. These towns, made up of some of the descendants of the former Tascalusa, Piachi, Apafalaya, and perhaps Mabila, would form the core of the Alabama province of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>22</sup>

Similar events occurred on the lower Tallapoosa River, where Soto encountered the Talisi chiefdom, an affiliate of the paramount chief of Coosa

then being courted by Tascalusa. The Talisi chiefdom probably corresponds to the archaeological ceramic complex known as the Shine II phase (1400–1575 C.E.), which extended from the big bend in the Tallapoosa to just east of the confluence of the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers (see Map 1).<sup>23</sup> Like the other polities in central Alabama, archaeologists understand the Talisi province to have also been a plural society that formed around 1350 to 1400 C.E., when one or more factions from the fallen Etowah chiefdom of northwest Georgia migrated to central Alabama and joined with people from the fallen Moundville chiefdom and a local population.<sup>24</sup>

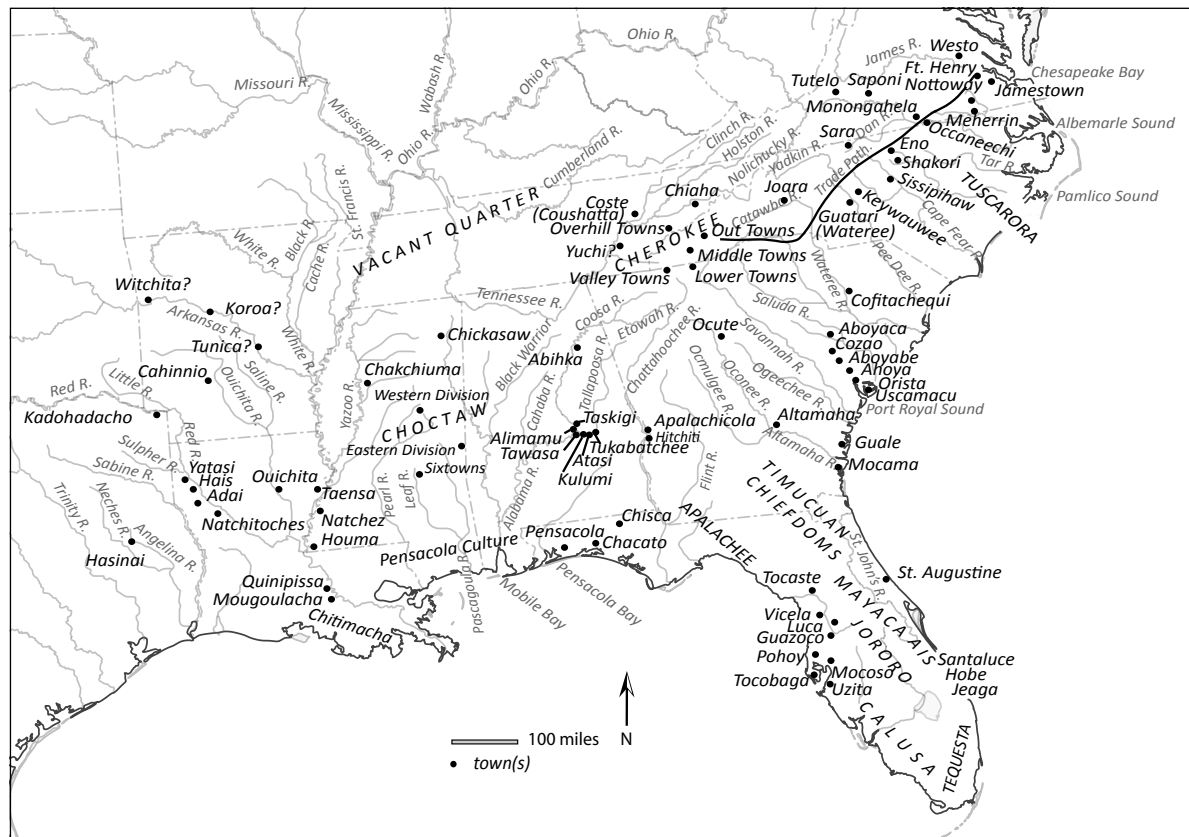
After Soto departed central Alabama, the people of the Talisi province—who may or may not have participated in the battle of Mabila—apparently stayed in place on the lower Tallapoosa. Archaeologically, we see an *in situ* transition from the Shine II phase to the Atasi phase (1575–1700 C.E.). The Atasi-phase ceramics, like Shine II-phase ceramics, show a mixture of derivations from Moundville, Lamar, and local ceramic variants. In other words, the Atasi phase reflects very much the plurality of its Shine II parent assemblage. Unfortunately, both the Shine II and the Atasi phases do not yet enjoy good chronological control, and therefore we cannot say with precision when certain transitions occurred. For instance, although we know that the largest Shine II mound center (the Jere Shine site) was abandoned sometime during Shine II, we do not yet know if people left before or after the Soto entrada. After people abandoned the Jere Shine site, three smaller Shine II towns with mounds continued to be occupied into the Atasi phase, perhaps indicating a shift in leadership either prior to or after Soto's expedition. People continued to live at the mound sites, but they did not build any new mounds. During the Atasi phase, they also changed how they decorated their ceramics but continued using similar tempering agents (much grit, and to a lesser degree shell). And in the early decades of the seventeenth century, they began acquiring European trade goods from the Spanish in Florida. These items were considered prestigious, as indicated by the fact that all of them from the Atasi phase have been recovered only from burials, where they were placed as important and sacred grave goods. However, the grave goods are not limited to a few select burials, and their presence in many burials indicates a leveling of social statuses and perhaps the beginning of the end of the Mississippian political hierarchy.<sup>25</sup>

The people of the lower Tallapoosa clearly went through some fundamental changes in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries; still, they did not migrate out of the area. In fact, the three Atasi-phase sites mentioned

earlier were continuously occupied throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Their historic names are Kulumi, Atasi, and the famous Tukabatchee, which was in the big bend of the Tallapoosa River. These and the other towns along the lower Tallapoosa comprised the seventeenth-century province known as Tallapoosa, which would become one of the core nuclei of the eighteenth-century Upper Creeks (Map 3).<sup>26</sup>

Although Soto did not travel through the chiefdoms on the Chattahoochee River, archaeological evidence attests to some repercussions for these chiefdoms resulting from the Soto entrada. At the time of Soto, several chiefdoms existed on the Chattahoochee, known by their archaeological name of Stewart-phase sites (see Map 1). Recent archaeological investigations reveal that the sixteenth-century Chattahoochee chiefdoms, like those on the Tallapoosa and Alabama Rivers, were an amalgam of several different peoples. In this reconstruction, sometime around 1100 C.E., a group (characterized by Moundville I-phase ceramics) left the chiefdom at the Shiloh site in southwestern Tennessee and moved to the lower Chattahoochee River. This same study indicates that around the same time, another Moundville I group budded from Shiloh to the Black Warrior River, where they would eventually grow into Moundville. Meanwhile, on the Chattahoochee, the Moundville I group fused with local populations to form a series of simple chiefdoms and a new ceramic complex known as Rood I phase (1100–1200 C.E.). By 1300 C.E. (Rood III phase), the Rood phase chiefdoms had merged into two or three large chiefdoms, which apparently held some sort of hegemony over the lower Chattahoochee River valley.<sup>27</sup>

Throughout the Rood era, the lower Chattahoochee saw a complex movement of people into and out of the region. For instance, during the Rood II phase (1200–1300 C.E.), it looks as though a group budded from the Chattahoochee chiefdoms and moved into the vicinity of present-day Tallahassee, Florida, where they founded the Lake Jackson site, the first expression of the historically known Apalachee chiefdom. Then, when Etowah fell (ca. 1350–1375 C.E.), small groups from the fallen chiefdom moved to the lower Chattahoochee, where they were absorbed by resident Rood groups. The following Rood III-phase ceramics (1300–1400 C.E.) most likely developed as a result of the interactions between the Etowah people and those on the Chattahoochee. A few decades later, around 1400–1450 C.E., another group of people producing Lamar ceramics appeared on the Chattahoochee, and some people from the Florida panhandle also moved into this region. This also marks the decline of the Rood III hegemony, although one of the



sites continued to be occupied into the sixteenth century.<sup>28</sup> This plurality of people came to form a new archaeological complex known as the Bull Creek phase (1400–1475 C.E.), which evolved into the Stewart phase (1475–1600 C.E.). The Stewart phase represents the complex of chiefdoms that was on the Chattahoochee at the time of Soto. Unlike those of the powerful and large Rood-phase chiefdoms, Stewart-phase populations were distributed along a 160-kilometer stretch of the lower Chattahoochee in numerous farmsteads and small mound sites. These Stewart-phase people were likely the ancestors of the historic Hitchitis, who lived on the Chattahoochee.<sup>29</sup>

A significant immigration into the lower Chattahoochee occurred during the Stewart phase and is marked by the replacement of Stewart-phase ceramics with Abercrombie-phase ceramics (1500–1600 C.E.). These immigrants established a chiefdom with two town sites with mounds, one on either side of the river at present-day Columbus, Georgia. These two sites undoubtedly are the original sites of the towns known historically as Cussita and Coweta, two major towns of the eighteenth-century Lower Creeks. Although the archaeology is ambiguous as to the origins of these immigrants, it looks as though groups from present-day central Alabama and perhaps Tennessee migrated to the Chattahoochee River valley sometime around 1585 C.E. (see Map 2). The most recent scenario, put forward by archaeologist Ned Jenkins, suggests that people from the Ebert Canebrake site on the lower Tallapoosa moved to the Chattahoochee. According to Jenkins, sometime between 1500 and 1585 C.E., a group of people from Tascalusa may have established a town in Talisi (the Ebert Canebrake site) on the Tallapoosa River. Sometime later, some or all of the people at the Ebert Canebrake site may have continued to move east, settling the two towns on the lower Chattahoochee. However, Jenkins does not know whether this move was before or after the battle at Mabila.<sup>30</sup>

Despite the uncertainty surrounding the origins, this immigration profoundly affected the local Stewart-phase chiefdoms, and archaeologists report a dramatic reduction in the number of sites on the Chattahoochee. The numerous Stewart-phase farmsteads and small mounds simply vanished, replaced by the two Abercrombie-phase sites. Archaeologists interpret this to mean that Stewart-phase people either were subsumed under the new Abercrombie chiefdom or suffered some kind of population loss, either from



disease or military confrontation. Even so, the two peoples continued to live side by side. Archaeologists also cite evidence that the Abercrombie-phase people spoke a Muskogean language and the Stewart-phase people spoke Hitchiti. Although the Hitchiti towns would retain their social identity as Hitchitis, by 1630 or before, the two peoples would join into one multilingual polity, which is represented archaeologically as the Blackmon-phase ceramic complex (1600–1700 C.E.).<sup>31</sup> The polity would become known as Apalachicola, named after the Hitchiti town of Pallachucula. Apalachicola would later become the core nucleus of the Lower Creeks (see Map 3). By the mid-eighteenth century, all of these groups on the Chattahoochee, Tallapoosa, and Alabama Rivers would fuse to form the Creek Confederacy.<sup>32</sup>

Although we have relatively little information about Chicaza's history in the first few decades after the encounter with Soto, we do know that the people of this polity began a series of migrations that led them away from the Tombigbee and eventually into the vicinity of present-day Tupelo, Mississippi. However, archaeologists are not in agreement about the timing of these moves. As discussed in chapter 1, in one scenario, archaeologists believe that sometime just prior to the Spanish entrada, people who had been living in Mississippian chiefdoms along the middle Tombigbee and its tributaries had moved out of the river bottomlands and settled slightly north into smaller, dispersed hamlets in the uplands of the Black Prairie. They quit building mounds and settled into a less-centralized and nonhierarchical political order.<sup>33</sup> In the other scenario, archaeologists propose that people had been living in scattered farmsteads in the upland prairies since Woodland times and continued to do so throughout the Mississippian era. During the Mississippian era, the upland farmsteads were affiliated with chiefdoms whose mound centers were on the floodplains of the Tombigbee and its tributaries. Some of these mound centers were abandoned in the fifteenth century, but some continued to function until the late sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries, at which time people began their migration through the Black Prairie.<sup>34</sup>

Both parties agree, however, that the upland prairie sites and at least one of the nonupland sites (the Yarborough site) contains ceramics with rim treatments that are very similar to the notched-filet treatments characteristic of later Chickasaw ceramics (Wilson and Oktibbeha phases) found near present-day Tupelo. They also agree that sometime between 1550 and 1650, the people living in the upland prairies shifted from using live-mussel shells as a tempering agent in their ceramics to using the fossil shells that are

rife in Black Prairie soils. This is important because the fossil-shell temper is also characteristic of the pottery made by the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Chickasaw population.<sup>35</sup>

By tracking these fossil-shell ceramics and rim treatments, archaeologists have been able to follow the movement of this population of people through the Black Prairie. We know that from at least the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries, the people of present-day northeast Mississippi went through a series of movements toward the north, following the contour of the Black Prairie (Figure 7; see Map 2).<sup>36</sup> Archaeologists also generally agree that this movement was made by the population that made up the Chicazas, who, in the late seventeenth century, became known as the Chickasaws. It appears, then, that between 1540 and 1650, the chiefdoms in northeast Mississippi either collapsed or were dramatically reconfigured. The mound centers along the Tombigbee were now completely abandoned, and some of this population moved northwest.

For the first fifty or so years after the entrada, the people of Chicaza scattered into small towns and farmsteads in the uplands of the Black Prairie. They also quit building mounds, signaling a decline of the hierarchical political order. Corn still played an important part in their diet, but they began to balance their corn intake with more wild plant and animal foods. To facilitate this new subsistence, people moved onto small bluffs overlooking small streams, which gave them access to both wild game and the good friable soils of the upland prairies. They began hunting bison. There is also some suggestion that instead of spreading over the land in a random pattern, they clustered their small towns and farmsteads together in proximity to one another. As we have seen elsewhere in the lower South, people in northeast Mississippi also went from burying their dead in flexed positions directly in the ground to secondary urn and bundle burials, which archaeologists understand to suggest a leveling of social hierarchy.<sup>37</sup>

Like the people of Chicaza, the people of Alimamu also migrated out of the Tombigbee region. In Soto's day, the Alimamu province was probably north of Line Creek in present-day northeast Mississippi. About 140 years later in 1684, the people of Alimamu had relocated their towns to central Alabama as indicated by a census taken that year by the Spanish official Marcos Delgado (see Map 2). Delgado, who was making a reconnaissance of present-day central Alabama for Spanish officials, recorded several towns on the present-day upper Alabama River, including the towns of Aymamu (Alimamu) and Qulasa (Miculasa).<sup>38</sup> It is also interesting that the Lyon's Bluff

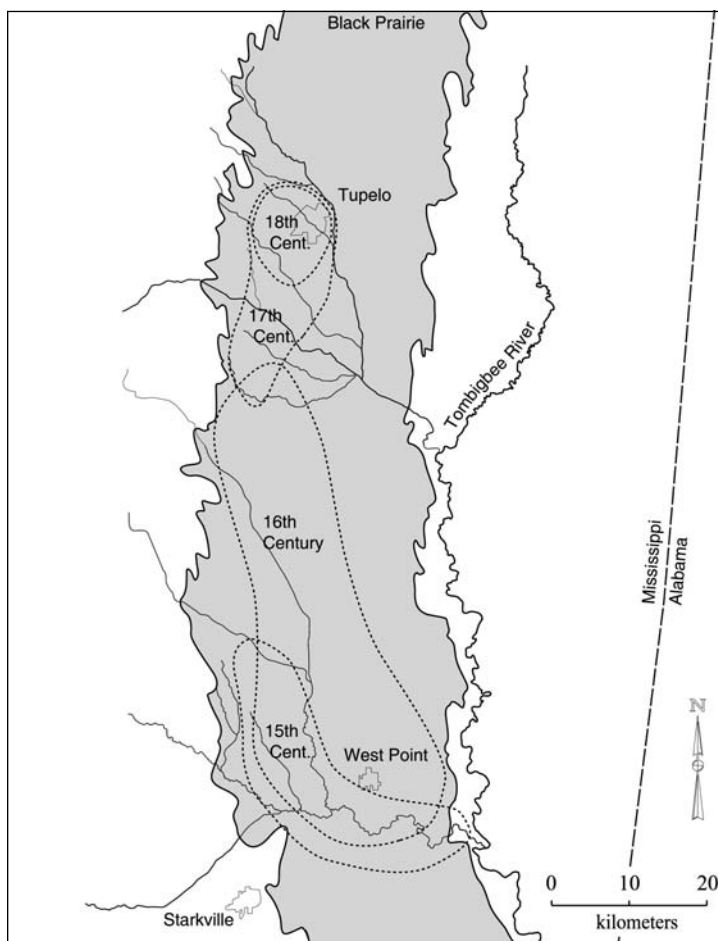


FIGURE 7 Chickasaw settlement in the Black Prairie from the fifteenth through the eighteenth centuries (Drawing by Jay Johnson. From Jay K. Johnson, "The Chickasaws," in *Indians of the Greater Southeast: Historical Archaeology and Ethnohistory*, edited by Bonnie G. McEwan, 91 [Figure 4]. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000. Reprinted with permission of the University Press of Florida.)

site, the hypothesized site of Alimamu's central town, was occupied until 1650, although the mounds were probably not in use in the later years. In the early stages of chiefdom failure in other areas of the Mississippian world, one pattern was for some people to remain at the mound centers while most of the population moved into the hinterlands, usually to dispersed upland farmsteads. Although a small population stayed at the mound centers, they quit using the mounds, and, in time, even they would leave.

Lyon's Bluff could potentially reflect such a pattern. Recall that the settlement pattern here would have been the local center-farmstead pattern, meaning that during the Mississippi Period, Lyon's Bluff administered to its own resident population as well as to a number of people settled on upland farmsteads. As the chiefdom fell, Lyon's Bluff continued to be occupied, but most of the people left the mound center and joined their rural neighbors in the uplands. If, as mentioned previously, Lyon's Bluff was the mound center for the Alimamu chiefdom, the 1650 date for its last occupation could possibly mark the final movement of people out of the region and into central Alabama.<sup>39</sup>

It is difficult to assess the origins of Miculasa (Qulasa), despite the temptation to assume that the Miculasa who Soto met had some connection to this town. There is another possible synonym, though—Mosulixa, one of the towns of Apafalaya visited by Soto. Most, if not all, of the people of Sacchuma, over whom Miculasa was the mico, probably stayed in the vicinity of their Mississippian homelands until the mid-seventeenth century. In 1540 the territory of the Sacchuma polity likely lay between the Noxubee and Tombigbee Rivers in present-day northeast Mississippi. They became known as the Chakchiumas, and in the early eighteenth century, their major town was at the confluence of the Yazoo and Yalobusha Rivers, and they maintained one or more smaller towns just north of their fifteenth-century homelands near present-day Starkville (see Maps 1, 2, and 3).<sup>40</sup>

Until we have better archaeological evidence, it is impossible to know if the move of the Alimamu and Chicaza occurred because of instabilities brought about by the presence of Soto or if it occurred for other reasons. For now, all we can conclude is that what happened at Chicaza appears to match patterns seen elsewhere. And, as all of these cases demonstrate, there can be no doubt that Soto's march through the South served to destabilize the Mississippian world in many ways. Still, such destabilization, in and of itself, cannot account for the collapse of the Mississippian world. In fact, it can be argued that the Mississippian world was in the process of recovery from the

Soto expedition when the first successful European colony was established in North America.

After a series of colonial failures in the South such as that of Soto, the Spanish crown settled on maintaining a small garrison on the Atlantic side of the peninsula of present-day Florida, from which they could police the shipping lanes of New Spain and ward off English, Dutch, and French pirates raiding in the seas and along the coastlines. This was St. Augustine, settled by Pedro Menéndez de Avilés in 1565. The fort and town housed a small number of military personnel and their families. Instead of conquest, the Spanish sought to colonize this part of North America through the mission system, a colonial strategy wherein Catholic missionaries worked to convert Native inhabitants into Catholic, Spanish peasants. The Spanish in what became known as La Florida clearly interacted with viable Mississippian polities, indicating that much of the Mississippian world, although assuredly shaken after Soto, was still intact.

Between 1565 and 1704, a handful of Franciscan missionaries labored to convert thousands of Indians in present-day Florida and south Georgia to the Catholic faith.<sup>41</sup> They established dozens of missions, proselytizing to the Guale and Mocama chiefdoms on the Georgia coast, the Apalachee paramount chiefdom in northwest Florida, and the thirty-five or so Timucuan-speaking simple chiefdoms spread across north Florida and south Georgia (see Map 1). The Spanish hoped to assimilate the Indians, not annihilate them, and the mission strategy was devised for using Native inhabitants as colonists. In terms of conversion, the friars focused mostly on those things that conflicted with Catholicism, such as polygamy, polytheism, and anything they considered idolatrous behavior, such as playing the ball game. In other cases, friars sought to work within Native systems, and therefore they did not attempt to revamp everything about Indian life.

For example, the friars and Spanish military officials worked through chiefdom political orders, which likely accounts for why the chiefdoms in La Florida persisted into the eighteenth century. The friars' method was to first convert a *mico*, and then, with his or her permission, to establish a mission in the central town. There, they would then work to convert others. The friars and Spanish officials, however, also worked through the *mico*'s authority to conscript Indian labor for growing corn, building facilities, operating ferries, maintaining the new roadways, and doing other work for the friars, the Spanish military, and colonists in St. Augustine and elsewhere. In addition, the friars and Spanish personnel imported fruits, vegetables, cattle, horses, pigs,

iron tools, and many other things typical of Spanish life, and Indian people soon incorporated some of these things into their lives as well.<sup>42</sup>

Indian life in Spanish Florida became “a curious blend of old and new.”<sup>43</sup> For instance, even though the chiefdom political orders continued in some way, they probably resembled their Mississippian antecedents only vaguely. During the Spanish years, the friars and military officials continually interfered with leadership by promoting the placement of pro-Spanish *micos* in office. These machinations inevitably led to suspicions, power struggles within the elite lineages, and general political unrest throughout the chiefdoms.<sup>44</sup> The Spanish also brought European diseases, and throughout the mission era, the Native populations of La Florida suffered repeated deadly disease episodes. As disease took its toll, the Native population of La Florida began to drain away as early as 1590 and continued to fall throughout the next 130 years, putting a strain on all of the chiefdoms. Introduced diseases certainly devastated many Indian families and towns, but the conscripted labor system was equally as stressful and detrimental to Indian health and well-being. Recent bioarchaeological studies show that the Indian populations across La Florida suffered from malnutrition, severe and physically damaging labor practices, and other associated health risks from displacement into work camps. Native life in La Florida was not a picture of rosy health and stable political and social institutions. In fact, violent Native revolts punctuated the entire mission period—evidence that unrest and discontent existed among a large number of mission Indians.<sup>45</sup>

One question for us is what, if any, influences did the Spanish mission system and mission Indians have on Chicaza? The Spaniards knew of Chicaza. In 1681 the Spanish governor and one of the Coweta chiefs of Apalachicola discussed the possibility of an Apalachicola and Spanish alliance. They mentioned Chicaza as one of the polities that could come under such an alliance. This alliance never came to pass, and it is doubtful that the Chicaza were beholden to Apalachicola in any way, despite the Coweta chief's implications.<sup>46</sup> Still, it indicates that the Spaniards in La Florida and the Indians of Apalachicola knew of Chicaza and had interactions with the people.

Spanish officials in St. Augustine had taken an interest in the interior Indians early on. After establishing missions in the chiefdoms of Guale and Mocama, they began exploring the possibility of establishing relations with the polity of Ocute in the Georgia piedmont (see Map 1). Soto had passed through Ocute in 1539, and at that time, Ocute was a paramount chiefdom composed of at least three polities—Altamaha, Ocute, and Cofaqui—all of

which were strung along the Oconee River north of the Fall Line.<sup>47</sup> In addition, a small polity called Ichisi was on the Ocmulgee River at the Fall Line, and it may have come under Ocute's influence at the time of the Soto expedition. To the east of Ocute was a vast empty buffer zone that stretched from the Oconee River to the Congaree River, at which point one entered the famed paramount chiefdom of Cofitachequi in present-day South Carolina. To the northwest, and except for a small cluster of sites on the upper reaches of the Chattahoochee River (the Nacoochee cluster), there was another vast empty area that separated Ocute from Coosa.<sup>48</sup>

Chiefdoms rose and fell along the upper Oconee throughout the Mississippian Period, and archaeologists have investigated many of the mound sites here as well as some of the rural farmsteads that were settled in the Late Mississippian Period. Still, archaeologists are not certain as to which, if any, of the sites investigated were those through which Soto passed, since to date not a single European artifact has been found in the valley.<sup>49</sup> They are certain, however, that all of the mound sites were losing population by 1550 and people were moving upstream and into the uplands into small farmsteads. By 1580 people were no longer using the mounds. Some people were still living at the mound centers, but evidence points to an increase in the rural populations in the northern reaches of the Oconee Valley at this time, leading archaeologists to conclude that the populations at the mound centers were leaving for the uplands.<sup>50</sup>

Despite Ocute's apparent decline as a paramount chiefdom, Spanish interest in the polity intensified after the 1597 Gualé revolts. Spanish officials hoped that an alliance with Ocute could help them control Gualé or, at the least, prevent Gualés from fleeing into the interior. A series of Spanish expeditions trekked up the Oconee Valley over the next thirty years, establishing ties with Ocute. The few records generated from these expeditions indicate that the *mico* of Ocute was still quite influential in the Oconee Valley until at least 1600, after which his influence began to dissolve. The archaeological evidence is likewise clear that around 1600, those few people remaining in the mound centers moved out (see Map 2). Some joined others in the rural areas upstream, and soon afterward some of this rural population congregated into towns. The excavation of a council house at one of these town sites indicates some kind of political integration among these northern rural populations.<sup>51</sup>

The *mico* of Altamaha, the southernmost province under Ocute, took advantage of the Spanish interest and the political flux going on throughout the

valley to ally himself with the Spaniards, thus gaining the prestige, goods, and status needed to sever any lingering ties to the mico of Ocute. The archaeology shows that some of the people in Ocute moved south between 1580 and 1600, and this probably represents those under Altamaha's influence (see Map 2). It looks as though they established towns at the juncture of the Ocmulgee and Oconee Rivers. Some may have even moved into Spanish Florida at this early date.<sup>52</sup> Then, in 1616, the mico of Altamaha requested that the Franciscans establish a mission on the Altamaha River, which they did and maintained for about twenty years (see Map 3). Whether or not Altamaha retained its chiefly ways during these times is unclear. A few decades later, as the province of Altamaha began its own ascendancy in the new world in which they found themselves, only the barest vestiges of the chiefdom order were left.<sup>53</sup>

Spanish interest farther west lagged until the 1630s. In 1633, just after establishing a permanent mission in Apalachee, the Spanish sought to pacify the hostile relations that had previously developed between Apalachee and Apalachicola. They also wanted to promote peace between the Apalachee and their closer neighbors, such as the Amacano and the Chacato (the latter two groups lived just west of Apalachee in the panhandle of present-day Florida; see Map 3). By 1639 truces had been established; the Amacano and Chacato, in fact, moved closer to Spanish Florida, probably to take advantage of the burgeoning skin- and fur-trade network (see Map 2). Two missions were established in Chacato towns, but both were abandoned after Spanish authorities learned of some Chacato leaders' conspiracy to kill the friars.<sup>54</sup>

Following the 1639 truce, the Spanish and the Apalachicolas began to build strong trade and other connections. In fact, scholars have documented an early seventeenth-century trade network among the Apalachee, Guale, Mocama, and Timucuan people and not only Apalachicola on the Chattahoochee River but also other interior polities, such as Tallapoosa on the lower Tallapoosa River, Alabama on the upper Alabama River, Abihka (the provincial name by which the Coosa migrant towns became known) on the upper Coosa River, some groups on the eastern Tennessee River, and Altamaha on the Altamaha River. By 1650 a relatively heavy flow of trade existed between the interior groups and Spanish Florida, especially with the Apalachicola, Tallapoosa, and Abihka provinces. Spanish officials, in fact, were interested enough in Apalachicola to warrant arranging a high-level meeting, and the Spanish governor Vega Castro y Pardo visited there in 1645. Even so, there is no indication that Apalachicola, Tallapoosa, Alabama, or Abihka ever fell



under the rule of Spanish authorities, and, other than a short-lived, small mission at the town of Sabacola in Apalachicola, no other missions were established in any of the provinces.<sup>55</sup>

During the Mississippi Period, Apalachee served as a vigorous trade center, moving valued coastal goods such as shells, pearls, and aquatic resources into the interior. During the mission era, Apalachee and other Indians of La Florida continued these trade networks, only now they trafficked in Spanish goods as well. Indians from La Florida brought Spanish items such as brass sheet (either in sheets or as ornaments and animal effigies); brass bells; various glass beads; iron chisels, celts, and axes; some cultigens such as peaches and cowpeas (black-eyed peas, or *Vigna unguiculata*); and perhaps even guns to the interior groups in exchange for deerskins and other furs, which they then transported back to Apalachee. Once in Apalachee, the skins were sold to Spanish buyers, who shipped them to Havana. Although this trade was ostensibly illegal, friars, soldiers, and some of the governors were involved.<sup>56</sup>

The trade started slowly, but by 1650 it was fairly substantial. Importantly, it also served to inaugurate the European trade in deerskins, which would eventually become an economic mainstay of the South in the eighteenth century.<sup>57</sup> It also further undermined the tenets of chiefdom hierarchy, as indicated by the widespread ownership of European goods among the Indian populations involved. These goods undoubtedly still served as prestige and status markers, but since the rank-and-file now had access to these goods through the new trade network, they could and apparently did challenge, usurp, and rebel against the old leadership. They could also build their own spheres of influence, which tended to produce a less-centralized political order.<sup>58</sup>

Recent archaeological investigations on the lower Tallapossa River indicate that the hereditary hierarchical leadership of these chiefdoms did not collapse after contact. Archaeologist Cameron Wesson presents a convincing case that the prestige-goods economy of the Late Mississippian Tallapossa chiefdoms shifted from a system of elite-centered, prestige-good exchange to one in which the elites seem to have been under duress to control the influx of new prestige items coming from Spanish and later English sources. The elite leaders initially attempted to control the flow of goods by hoarding them. However, over the seventeenth century, as more and more goods became available, a greater number of people had access to these goods, thereby intensifying the challenge to elite authority and prestige.<sup>59</sup>

Wesson's argument squares well with the documentary evidence. Scholars

have long glossed over a seeming paradox in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century eyewitness accounts of Indian life that describe, on the one hand, egalitarian, council-governed political bodies, and on the other hand, clear patterns of inherited leadership roles. Hereditary leadership, as Wesson demonstrates, did not wholly collapse to be replaced by an egalitarian system of governance. Instead, the evidence now suggests that hereditary leadership persisted, perhaps into the nineteenth century, except that it was being continually challenged, strained against, and thwarted by tendencies toward decentralization and a more democratic form of government that characterized the coalescent societies of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Native South.

Such political tensions and restructuring would have entailed realigning the relationship between commoners and elites, and scholars are beginning to turn their attention to how this realignment may have occurred. For example, archaeologists Gregory Waselkov and Ashley Dumas, in examining particular decorations that appear on ceramics relatively suddenly across much of the South in the early to mid-seventeenth century, propose that the ceramics may reflect a revitalization movement that arose in the seventeenth century in response to the social, political, and cultural turmoil in which Southern Indians found themselves. Scholars have long recognized the continuities between Mississippian beliefs and those of Historic Period Indians. Even so, we can also now see that a dramatic shift occurred in ideology. This shift was not toward an entirely new belief system; rather, it was a shift in interpretations of the same core set of assumptions and beliefs by which Mississippian people understood the cosmos. However, much of Mississippian religious beliefs were part of a legitimizing ideology for hereditary authority and elite privilege and status, as evidenced by the fact that the vast majority of iconographic materials were owned and controlled by the elite, and that Mississippian myths link elites to creation and ceremony. Any political restructuring, then, would have necessitated some new religious interpretations.

A close comparison of Mississippian and Historic Period beliefs show just such reinterpretations. For example, Mississippian myths that sanctified and legitimized elite authority were reinterpreted during the Historic Period to address such things as instructing people on how to perform the rituals and legitimizing political alliances. Some of the sacred Mississippian iconography, such as the looped square, was used into the eighteenth century, only now it appeared not on just elite or ceremonial wares but also on the every-

day wares of the common people. The mounds—those architectural symbols of sacred political hierarchy—began to lose their significance and eventually disappeared during the seventeenth century. They were replaced by the square grounds, the meeting place of a new kind of body politic that was more inclusive and less ascribed. Waselkov and Dumas suggest that as such shifts in belief and governance occurred, challengers to the Mississippian traditional hierarchy sought their own legitimizing ideology. In particular, they suggest that ceramic designs, such as the looped square, harken back to Mississippian symbols of This World—the world of humans. If their interpretations of the ceramic evidence is correct, as people increasingly lost faith in the elite hierarchy, they forged a new ideology by reinterpreting long-held beliefs and shifting emphasis from the supernatural realms of the Upper World and Under World to the human realm of This World. Hence, the emphases on the looped-square design representing This World. Indeed, the square ground itself can be seen as a symbol of This World, the domain of humans. Such shifts, of course, would not go uncontested by those in the chiefly lineages, and thus dramatic reinterpretations that challenged chiefly authority and sacredness may have required a widespread revitalization movement such as that suggested by Waselkov and Dumas.<sup>60</sup>

Trade with the Floridians also helps explain, in part, why present-day central Alabama and the lower Chattahoochee became nodes of Native settlement in the seventeenth century. Recall that people from the fallen chiefdoms of Talisi and Tascalusa stayed within the vicinity of their old chiefdoms in central Alabama. Recall the people of Alimamu had moved to the upper Alabama, and some of those from the former Apafalaya polity had also resettled on the upper Alabama River. Although we do not have a good date for these moves, the opportunities for Spanish trade may have been one factor in people's decisions to relocate to this area. Spanish artifacts have been found on many seventeenth-century sites in the area.<sup>61</sup>

In addition, recall that some of the towns of the former Coosa paramount chiefdom had begun a series of moves downstream as early as 1600. They first moved to the vicinity of present-day Weiss Reservoir, where they stayed until 1630. These archaeological sites have yielded many Spanish goods, including numerous glass beads, brass discs, brass armbands, copper or brass bells, brass tinkling cones, and even iron celts. Clearly, these towns had either direct or indirect connections to this developing trade network. This could also help explain their 1630 move farther south to present-day Whorton's Bend, which put them in closer proximity to the Spanish trade (see Maps 2 and 3). The

sites from here, likewise, have yielded an abundance of Spanish trade goods similar to those found at the Weiss Reservoir sites.<sup>62</sup>

One group, the Chiscas, moved a great distance to be closer to the Spanish. Members of both the Soto and Pardo expeditions encountered a polity named Chisca, which was renowned for its copper. Scholars tentatively place the sixteenth-century Chisca somewhere in the Appalachians of southwestern Virginia on the upper Holston River or in eastern Tennessee on the Nolichucky River (see Maps 1 and 2). It is unclear whether Chisca had come under the domination of either Coosa or Cofitachequi in the sixteenth century or remained a small, independent polity.<sup>63</sup>

In 1624 a large group of Chiscas suddenly appeared in Spanish Florida. Perhaps they left their homeland as a result of the fall of Coosa and were drawn to La Florida because of the new opportunities afforded by the Spanish presence. As we will see, it is also possible that they were pushed out of the piedmont region by Iroquois or other slave raiders. Once in La Florida they stayed for about fifty years, settling several towns (see Map 3). By 1675 a Spanish census put the number of Chiscas at 4,000, making them one of the most populous groups around Spanish Florida at the time. During their fifty-year stay there, however, they stirred up so much trouble that, in 1677, a combined Apalachee and Spanish force ran them out. After this, the Chiscas retreated into the interior. Some appeared in Illinois, while others moved to the Tallapoosa River in present-day Alabama. There, they continued their hostilities against the Apalachicolas, with whom they had been enemies since their arrival in La Florida.<sup>64</sup>

The Tawasas (Towasas), likewise, appear to have moved from afar to be closer to the Spanish. The Tawasas may have been the descendants of the chiefdom of Tuasi, which was part of the Coosa paramountcy at the time of Soto. In 1675 Bishop Calderón mentions them as living in present-day central Alabama, most likely near the Tallapoosas (see Maps 1, 2, and 3). Spanish authorities later reported that the Tawasas were taking in Chacato refugees after the Chacato conspiracies in 1675 and 1676.<sup>65</sup>

Despite the interest that the Spaniards took in the interior, and despite the heavy flow of trade goods and deerskins, there is no documentary or archaeological evidence indicating that the Spaniards had any direct contact with Chicaza, and we do not know if Chicaza was indirectly involved in the Spanish trade circuit. The route of contacts between Spanish Florida and the interior groups was largely a north-south axis that ran from northern Florida into eastern Tennessee, which would put Chicaza out of the direct

line.<sup>66</sup> However, there is good documentary evidence that these trade goods circulated far and wide. After Charlestown was settled in 1670, for example, English traders sent reports from the interior telling of Spanish goods among the Esaws, Westos, and Shawnees, all of whom lived in the lower piedmont at the time.<sup>67</sup> The goods also traveled north several hundred miles. In 1673 Virginia traders James Needham and Gabriel Arthur crossed the Blue Ridge Mountains in an attempt to trade with the Tomahittans. Upon their arrival in the main town, the Virginians were surprised to find that the townspeople already had guns, hatchets, and other European items. The Tomahittans told them that they got them from the Spanish, who lived farther south. They said that a few years back, a group of twenty Tomahittan traders had taken a load of pelts to La Florida, only to be attacked. Ten of the traders were killed and ten were imprisoned. Two of the prisoners later escaped and made their way back to their town, where they told about the horrors of their captivity. This incident had spoiled the trade, and now the Tomahittans were bitter enemies of the Florida Indians. A corroborating detail is that later, when Arthur accompanied a group of Tomahittan men on a warring raid, they traveled several days to raid a Spanish mission village.<sup>68</sup>

For many years, scholars accepted that the Tomahittans were either Cherokees or Yuchis and that the town visited by Needham and Arthur was somewhere west of the Blue Ridge Mountains. The most thorough investigation, however, places the Tomahittans around the vicinity of present-day Rome, Georgia—the heart of the Coosa chiefdom, which had been abandoned after Soto. Archaeologist Gregory Waselkov suggests that they were a Hitchiti-speaking group, probably a splinter from the Ocute paramount chiefdom on the Oconee River who moved to this vicinity in the late seventeenth century after the fall of Ocute.<sup>69</sup>

Given the wide circulation of Spanish goods, it makes sense that some of these items would have found their way into Chicaza through exchanges with other Indians. However, to date, only a few Spanish artifacts have been found in northeast Mississippi, and these likely date to Soto's stay at Chicaza.<sup>70</sup> Even if some Spanish goods made their way to northeast Mississippi, the volume would not have been as great as that to the east, and therefore it is unlikely that Chicaza's political or economic system would have been affected by this trickle of Spanish goods into their country.

Spanish goods and skins were not the only exchanges being made; diseases, too, would have followed the trade links. Most scholars agree that the introduction of Old World diseases into virgin-soil populations of the

Americas resulted in a demographic collapse on the order of 90 percent across the hemisphere. However, scholars are still not certain about the exact diseases that were introduced, when they were introduced, or their specific pathologies, among other things. Moreover, in recent years, the idea that disease alone was responsible for the dramatic loss of Indian life in the first 100 or so years after contact has come into question.<sup>71</sup> Today, scholars agree that disease was but one factor in the demographic collapse, and all point to contributing factors such as slaving, internecine warfare, dropping fertility rates, violent colonial strategies such as genocide, and general cultural and social malaise from colonial oppression.

New evidence from La Florida, for example, suggests that the introduction of Old World diseases in the South did not necessarily entail demographic collapse or the fall of Mississippian chiefdoms. The Indians of Spanish Florida, more than any other southern group, had the most prolonged and direct early contact with Europeans (from about 1550 to 1700). Although there is plenty of documentary evidence for epidemic disease episodes in Spanish Florida, there is no evidence for a catastrophic loss of life across the region. In fact, recent investigations show epidemics to have been localized occurrences, albeit with high mortality rates.<sup>72</sup> There also was no sweeping cultural upheaval between 1550 and 1700 in La Florida. The chiefdoms continued to function into the eighteenth century and adjusted to the presence of the Spanish in various ways.

For the interior South, disease episodes between 1550 and 1650 are especially difficult to document. There are only vague documentary references to diseases in the interior during these 100 years. Direct archaeological evidence for Old World diseases must come from the skeletal material found in burial remains, but diseases such as measles and smallpox typically do not leave skeletal traces. Archaeologists, then, mostly depend on indirect evidence for disease, particularly settlement-pattern data that would indicate some demographic shift or depopulation, aberrant mortuary patterns such as mass graves, evidence for any changes in household sizes, and evidence for poor health in general among a population.

We have no direct or indirect evidence for disease in northeast Mississippi between 1550 and 1650, but again, this may indicate a lack of documentation and archaeological research rather than the absence of disease. Undoubtedly, introduced diseases had plenty of opportunities to seep into northeast Mississippi in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. First, both Soto's lengthy stay in the region and the goods and microbes moving out of Span-

ish Florida throughout the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries could provide opportunities for diseases to spread. Second, as we will see, by the mid-seventeenth century the descendants of Chicaza, the Chickasaws, were raiding Indians west of the Mississippi River who were, in turn, in close contact with western groups living among the Spaniards. Third, the Chickasaws had many connections with Indians in the Midwest, along the Mississippi River, and perhaps even into the Appalachians. In all three of these areas, there is good documentary evidence for serial disease outbreaks in the early to mid-seventeenth century.<sup>73</sup>

It is reasonable to suppose, then, that the people of northeast Mississippi had some exposure to Old World diseases by the early to mid-seventeenth century if not earlier. One study of settlement patterns saw no dramatic decrease in the number of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sites. Although these researchers conclude that European diseases were likely not present in northeast Mississippi in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they add that if disease were in the region, the dispersed settlement pattern would have inhibited its spread and the resultant loss of life would have been minimal.<sup>74</sup> The first documented mention of disease among the Chickasaws is in English trader Thomas Nairne's journals from 1708. Nairne relates that the ravages of disease and warfare had caused the Chickasaws to "break up their Townships and unite them for want of inhabitants."<sup>75</sup> Unfortunately, Nairne is not specific as to when these diseases struck.

As we have seen, in the aftermath of Soto, much occurred to the chiefdoms that were along the trail of the expedition. Disease, along with the instability brought about by the encounter with the expedition and later Spanish Florida, must have played some part in these disruptions. This is not to say that disease and Spaniards leveled the Mississippian world, but certainly they contributed to a widespread, regional instability that had repercussions throughout the South. These were followed by other colonial shock waves generated from the Atlantic seaboard, and the combination would rend the Mississippian world.

## CHAPTER 4

### *The English Invasion and the Creation of a Shatter Zone, ca. 1650–1680*

Hernando de Soto's grim swath of destruction and disruption, and even the presence of the Spanish in La Florida and introduction of Old World disease, cannot account for the decline of Mississippian polities and the restructuring that took place across the whole of the American South over the seventeenth century. Certainly, Soto's presence disrupted much, and that, along with subsequent disease epidemics and cultural exchanges with later Spaniards, had profound impacts on Native life during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. But these disruptions, epidemics, and exchanges, in and of themselves, were not fully transforming. Rather, it was the introduction of a new economic system ushered in by a commercial trade in Indian slaves and skins that completed the constellation of forces that created the Mississippian shatter zone. In effect, then, not until Native peoples became engaged in the world economy through contact with the English, French, and Dutch did they revamp their social, political, and economic orders. The inauguration of a nascent capitalist economic system by Europeans through a commercial trade in Indian slaves and animal skins, and the consequent intensification and spread of violence and warfare with the emergence of militaristic Native slaving societies, were fundamental causes of the collapse and transformation of the Mississippian world and the reshaping of its geopolitical landscape.<sup>1</sup>

During the seventeenth century, key European core countries—primarily the Netherlands and England, in competition with declining Spain and Portugal—were knitting together a global economy by articulating the Atlantic trade circuit with the Asian trade circuit. Although the American colonies were in the Atlantic circuit, they were still a subset of the larger global



economy.<sup>2</sup> In this light, the American colonies in the seventeenth century were strategic commercial outposts situated in a global periphery through which European core countries extracted wealth from labor and resources. The North American overseas ventures, then, were essentially a set of commercial endeavors among a host of many others that crisscrossed the globe. The North American settlements served mostly as extractive trade factories, at least in the first 100 years or so. These settlements may have been small and overwhelmed by Indian populations, but they were one conduit through which the economic power of the core countries flowed. Hence, one should not look on the American colonies and colonists themselves as wielding extraordinary transforming power over Native life. Rather, it was the system they served that was so transformative. It was not Quebec, New Amsterdam, Jamestown, or Charlestown that created the Mississippian shatter zone; it was the global commercial power of the Netherlands, England, and France as funneled through these settlements.<sup>3</sup>

Many of the European men and women who came to eastern North America in the seventeenth century came as businesspeople, and they understood themselves to be embarking on commercial enterprises through which they hoped to gain wealth and prestige. Most of them had prior experience working for European trade companies in other areas of the world, and they brought this experience to North America. They accepted that this business was not for the faint of heart, and they knew that real dangers awaited them. Nor were they all novices in dealing with people different from themselves, and the most enterprising, such as John Smith of Virginia and South Carolina trader Henry Woodward, had experience in other cultures and possessed good linguistic and negotiating skills. They also had some ideas about how to engage the locals in trade, especially through the sale of armaments, and they had a good sense of commodities—in this case, animal skins and Indian slaves. These early venture capitalists were experienced, skilled, and commercially savvy immigrants to North America who were instrumental in expanding and consolidating the nascent global economy, and in the American South they did so mostly through a traffic in Indian slaves.<sup>4</sup>

Throughout the seventeenth century, England, France, Spain, and Holland established “beachheads of empire” along the Atlantic seaboard and into the Gulf of Mexico (Table 1).<sup>5</sup> These four European colonizers struggled to establish empires in North America, and each employed different strategies to engage and incorporate Native allies into their imperial designs. Like the Spanish expeditions, the English, Dutch, and French colonial projects

TABLE I Timeline of European Colonization in Eastern North America

<i>Date</i>	<i>European Colony</i>
1565	St. Augustine settled by Spanish
1584	Roanoke settled by English, abandoned by 1587
1604	Acadia (Nova Scotia) settled by French
1607	Jamestown settled by English
1608	Quebec City settled by French
1620	Puritan Separatists land at Cape Cod
1625	New Amsterdam settled by Dutch
1670	Charlestown settled by English
1702	Mobile settled by French

in North America had political, religious, and military dimensions. However, by the seventeenth century, Spain was in decline as a commercial world power, and the Dutch, French, and English colonial projects carried significant commercial dimensions; that is, they came to North America to make money. As soon as English, French, and Dutch settlers landed on North American shores, they set about this business, and they brought with them strong commercial connections in the nascent global capitalist economy. By the early 1620s, the Dutch, English, and French had established colonies and trade interests in the St. Lawrence, Chesapeake, Susquehanna, and Hudson River corridors, and each lost no time in recruiting Native allies in the skin and slave trade.

As we have seen, slavery was not completely new to North American Indians at the time of contact, and most Native groups practiced an indigenous form of slavery in which war captives sometimes were put into bondage. However, the large-scale captive taking that occurred during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was most likely not conducted in precontact times. Rather, it came about with the colonial commercial slave trade. In the South, then, the forms of bondage during the Historic Period that Europeans observed may not have existed in the Mississippian Period.<sup>6</sup>

As in precontact slavery, slaves sold on the commercial market were obtained in war through raiding and the capturing of prisoners. During the late sixteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries, male captives were usually killed as in precontact days, but noncombatants were now spared and taken as war captives.<sup>7</sup> The fate of war captives during the Historic Period

varied. Captors sometimes consigned them to forced labor with no social rights. In some cases, captors adopted captives into a kin group, used them in prisoner exchanges with their foes, married them, gave them as gifts of alliance, obtained ransoms for them, or used them to forge trade alignments.<sup>8</sup> Among the Southern Indians, though, the vast majority of captives were sold to Europeans, who then sold them on the slave market. European slavers shipped Indian slaves to the West Indies and South America to work on the plantations and in the mines, as well as to New England, French Canada, and French Louisiana, where they were used as domestic servants, concubines, urban laborers, and small-scale agricultural laborers. Some were sold to planters and others in Jamestown and, after 1670, in Charlestown. In fact, one accounting put the number of Carolina households with Indian slaves at 26 percent between 1710 and 1714.<sup>9</sup>

What did the Indians get in exchange for their human commodities? The evidence points to any number of items, including brass and copper objects, steel knives, blades, fishhooks, iron hoes and axes, beads, bells, cloth, and alcohol. By far, though, the items most desired were guns and ammunition. There is a standing question about why Indians wanted these new armaments, especially since it is unclear whether owning these early trade guns gave any group a military edge. Opinions are divided. Some scholars understand that these weapons, no matter how poorly made or ineffective, still would have revolutionized Indian warfare; others have proposed that Indian men sought them as status symbols and not as implements of combat.<sup>10</sup> For whatever reason, when guns became available, Indian people went to extraordinary lengths to acquire them. Examining a contemporary people, anthropologist Brian Ferguson makes a strong case that not only guns but also metal tools became indispensable after they were introduced to the Yanomami of the Amazon, and that the Yanomami wanted the guns for use in war. He also shows that the Yanomami were intensely interested in obtaining both guns and metal tools. This desire to gain and control access to Western trade goods infiltrated and directed many aspects of Yanomami life, as it still does.<sup>11</sup>

The same can be said for the Southern Indians. Any advantage in armaments would have been critically important at this time because of the intensification of violence that accompanied the slave trade. Of all the types of colonial commerce, the commercial trade in captive laborers required a high level of force as a necessary accompaniment to trade.<sup>12</sup> In other words, whereas trading in furs or deerskins does not necessarily involve warfare, trading in slaves does, because it requires force. Certainly, warfare penetrated

Mississippian life, so much so that war, not peace, may have been the accepted prevailing state of affairs. Once Europeans arrived, one can see that Native war efforts became entwined with market interests and international commerce. As warfare became tied to commercial interests, the southern chiefdoms' mechanisms for mitigating war and brokering peace broke down, and thus as Indian commercial interests intensified, so did warfare and the militarization of those Native groups who sought to control the trade. Given the intrachiefdom hostility evident in the Mississippian world, one can assume that people of a chiefdom had a ready supply of enemies whom they could target in their raiding. Let there be no doubt, however, that the commercial trade in Indian slaves was not a continuation and adaptation of pre-existing captivity patterns. It was a new kind of slaving, requiring a new kind of occupational specialty created on the edge of the modern world system: organized militaristic slavers.

One consequence of this militarization was the emergence of "militaristic slaving societies." These were Indian societies that gained control of the trade and, "through their slave raiding, spread internecine warfare and created widespread dislocation, migration, amalgamation, and, in some cases, extinction of Native peoples."<sup>13</sup> Most of these militaristic slaving societies were short-lived, existing for only about 100 years (from 1620 to 1715). During this brief window of time, they were key agents in the creation and expansion of the Mississippian shatter zone through their relentless raiding of their Indian neighbors for slaves.

One of the first militaristic slaving societies to emerge out of this new colonial context were the Five Nations Iroquois, who lived in present-day New York. At some point just prior to European contact, the Mohawks, Onondagas, Oneidas, Senecas, and Cayugas, who were situated between the Mohawk and Genesee River valleys in New York, joined in "The Great League of Peace and Power." The Great League was an alliance that guaranteed peace among its members and mutual aid against outside aggressors. The Iroquois lost no time in establishing ties with Europeans as soon as the latter had established trade depots in the Northeast. Through much violence against their neighbors and others, the Iroquois became the dominant middlemen in the new trade system and soon controlled the European trade throughout the Northeast to the Great Lakes region.

Some scholars maintain that northern businessmen prized furs (beaver and other furs) and not Indian slaves as their most valuable commodity, and that the intra-Indian competition for access to the fur trade lay at the root

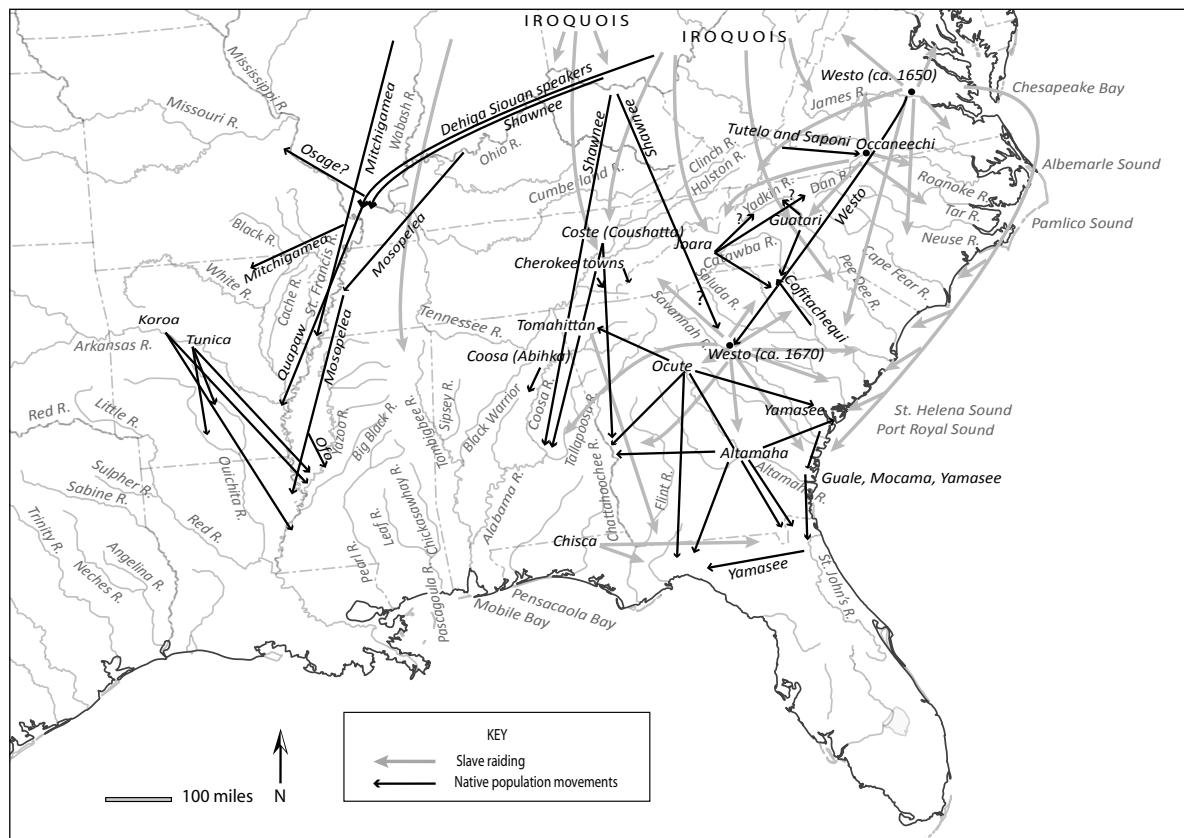
of the northeastern Indian conflict and hostility.<sup>14</sup> Still, the Iroquois practice of obtaining war captives folded into commercially inspired wars. Before the European invasion, much Iroquois warfare was conducted as “mourning wars,” the objective of which was to take captives who were then used to replace their deceased through a ceremony known as “requickening.” The mourning wars created low-level, perhaps chronic violence. However, Europeans introduced two factors that powerfully reshaped the mourning wars: disease and trade.<sup>15</sup>

The first recorded instance of Old World disease among the Iroquois appeared in the 1630s and was followed by successive waves of disease epidemics in 1647, 1656, 1661, 1668, 1673, and 1676, so that by the end of the seventeenth century, they had suffered an estimated 95 percent population loss. With this kind of loss, the mourning wars took on vastly increased significance: they were necessary to keep Iroquois numbers up.<sup>16</sup> In addition, this increase in warfare left the Iroquois with a disproportionate number of young men eager to avenge and replace the dead, and who, because of their connections to the European trade, were gaining more confidence in their abilities to challenge traditional Iroquois authority.<sup>17</sup>

Iroquois mourning wars became tied to trade interests, which included the acquisition of hunting lands. The Iroquois first directed their mourning wars against the groups that were blocking their way to the European trade centers. The Mahicans took the first blow and were eliminated by 1628. By 1649 the Hurons, and their allies the Petuns, Neutrals, Wenros, and Eries, began to break apart, and by 1650 groups in the Algonquian Confederacy to the northeast were dispatched.<sup>18</sup> Many of these northeastern groups fled to the Great Lakes region, where they formed new groups such as the Wyandots and forced local groups such as the Sioux onto the plains. Some moved south into the present-day mid-Atlantic states.<sup>19</sup> After emptying the surrounding areas of people, the Iroquois turned their attention to distant northern and western groups—the Abenakis, Ojibwas, Ottawas, Wyandots, Crees, Illinois, Miamis, and Chipewyans (who were located about 1,600 miles northwest of Iroquoia).<sup>20</sup> They also began a series of slave campaigns into the Midwest and South.

By the mid-1600s, Iroquois raiders were penetrating the lower Midwest by way of the Ohio and Mississippi River valleys (Map 4). Archaeologists

MAP 4 (opposite) Slave Raiding and Some Indian Population Movements, ca. 1650–1680 (Note: the gray arrows represent generalized patterns, while the black arrows represent discrete movements of populations with varying degrees of certainty.)



have argued that the eastern Ohio Valley (in present-day Kentucky and West Virginia) was largely depopulated in the mid-1600s, although they are not in agreement as to whether or not this was due primarily to Iroquois depredations.<sup>21</sup> Archaeologists also suspect that many refugees from Iroquois raiding migrated west into present-day Michigan, Ohio, and Illinois, where they settled in unpopulated areas and either joined or displaced local populations.<sup>22</sup> Some may have moved into the lower South. The Quapaws, who lived at the mouth of the Arkansas River in 1680 and who have puzzled archaeologists and others for many years, may have been relative newcomers to that area. As we will see, they probably originated in the eastern Ohio River valley and were displaced by Iroquois raiding sometime in the mid- to late seventeenth century.

It is also quite possible that through the turmoil, dislocation, and depopulation in the Ohio River valley, the formation of some new groups occurred—in particular, the Shawnees. We know very little about early Shawnee history except to say that it entailed several extraordinarily complex movements between Pennsylvania, the Savannah River, the Great Lakes, and Maryland. Scholars are beginning to explore the idea that the Shawnees formed in response to Iroquois predations and conflicts with Europeans, and that they adjusted to the tumultuous times by adopting a very fluid social structure and becoming highly mobile mercenaries.<sup>23</sup>

Iroquois and other northern raiders also filtered down the Atlantic seaboard. In at least one early document, the Senecas are mentioned by name as harassing the Delaware Bay Indians.<sup>24</sup> By the mid-seventeenth century, Susquehannocks and other northern groups who were forced south by the Iroquois in turn displaced and raided the Chesapeake Bay Indians, as well as other Virginia and Maryland groups.<sup>25</sup> There is increasing evidence that the Powhatan paramount chiefdom of Pocahontas fame—which appears to have been a relatively stable political unit on the northeastern edge of the Mississippian shatter zone—also took in refugees and may have even congealed politically in response to the social turmoil on all sides.<sup>26</sup>

Certainly, Iroquois raiding for war captives had widespread repercussions that were felt in the South. But in the South, this turmoil dovetailed into a commercial sale of captives that would devastate Native polities. Almost as soon as Jamestown was settled in 1607, Indian war captives passed into Virginian hands as slaves, and there is some evidence for a Virginia commercial trade in slaves as early as 1640. However, in the first decades of their settlement, the Jamestown colonists' attentions were taken up by matters other

than the Indian trade. They were beset by problems ranging from their own poor survival rates and their troubles with the Powhatans to the nurturing of their fledgling tobacco economy. However, after the Powhatan polity was virtually destroyed in the retaliations to Opechancanough's 1622 and 1644 attacks on Jamestown, Jamestown entrepreneurs turned their attention to the Indian trade. They soon entered into trade agreements with various Indians and began buying both skins and slaves.<sup>27</sup>

Over the next decades, Virginia traders explored south and west of the colony in the hope of opening trade routes and enlisting trade partners. In 1646, to facilitate the expanding trade and also to mark the colony's trade boundaries, Virginia officials approved the building of Fort Henry where the Trade Path crossed the falls of the Appomattox River and Fort Royal north of the James River (see Map 3). Both were to serve as the assigned trade marts for the south and north Virginia trade networks, respectively.<sup>28</sup> The Jamestown efforts were part of a broader move by both France and England to dominate Atlantic colonial efforts, especially the Indian trade. In fact, the Iroquois, who had from about 1610 to 1660 depended on the Dutch for their trade supplies, had lost any armament advantage around 1640, when the French and English on the Atlantic began supplying guns and other goods to the Susquehannocks, Abenikas, and others, which intensified the intra-Indian warfare in the Northeast.<sup>29</sup>

As new trade opportunities opened in Jamestown, other militaristic slaving societies emerged. Unlike the Iroquois, however, these societies were engaged in commercial slaving to acquire guns and ammunition and not just to replace their dead. One of the earliest examples of such a commercial slaving society in the South may be the Occaneechis. Archaeologists tentatively associate the historic Occaneechis with the precontact and protohistoric archaeological complex called the Hillsboro phase (1400–1620 C.E.). Hillsboro-phase sites are located on the headwaters of the Haw and Eno Rivers in the North Carolina piedmont (see Map 1). Early in the phase, people lived in compact, nucleated, and palisaded villages; later in the phase, they left the towns and moved into scattered, small farmsteads located in uplands overlooking small streams.<sup>30</sup> Unfortunately, the long time span covered by the phase does not tell exactly when the changes in settlement patterns occurred.

However, from the documentary evidence, we know that sometime between 1620 and 1650, the Occaneechis moved north to where the Trade Path led out of Fort Henry and crossed the Roanoke River at the present-day boundary of Virginia and North Carolina (see Maps 2 and 3). This is where



Englishman Edward Bland encountered them in 1650. Both the Tutelos and Saponis, who were living in small towns on the Roanoke upstream from the Occaneechis, would join ranks with them by 1670 or so (see Map 4).<sup>31</sup> Joining the raiders was one method of coping, and the Occaneechis may be an early example of a confederation that, if nothing else, required mutual agreements that those in the alliance would not conduct slave raids against each other. Not much is known about their early encounters with the Virginians, but by 1670 they were acting as middlemen for the Virginia traders, reportedly controlling the English southern trade for a distance of 500 miles.<sup>32</sup>

Another early example of a militaristic slaving society is the Westos. The Westos were originally a group of Eries who, fleeing Iroquois predations, moved to the Ohio River, where they formed a partnership with the Susquehannocks in the fur and perhaps the slave trade. Around 1640, 500 to 600 of them moved to the James River in Virginia, where they became known as Richahecrians or Westos and began slaving for Jamestown slavers. By the early 1660s, the Westos were raiding for slaves as far as present-day Georgia and Florida (see Map 4). Sometime in the 1660s, they moved to the Savannah River in present-day Georgia to be closer to vulnerable bow-and-arrow Indians of the lower South (see Map 4). The location also proved to be a good one for trade with Carolina once the colony was founded in 1670, and the South Carolina Lords Proprietors soon sent English adventurer Henry Woodward to broker a trade deal with them, which he successfully concluded in 1674.<sup>33</sup>

From 1650 until about 1685, the Occaneechis and Westos, armed with European guns and employing a well-honed predatory strategy, conducted slave raids for their English partners against many of the Natives in present-day Georgia, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, and perhaps as far west as present-day central Alabama (see Map 4).<sup>34</sup> To make matters worse, in the late 1670s the Iroquois, reeling from a devastating epidemic, initiated a massive mourning war. Iroquois warriors now struck out west, where they raided the Hurons, Wyandots, Illinois, and other groups, and south, where they warred against the Indians of Carolina (see Map 4). Iroquois leaders allied with the Susquehannocks, who had been raiding throughout the mid-Atlantic and into the lower piedmont for at least two decades. Iroquois and Susquehannock raiders now filtered into Virginia and Carolina and harassed local Indians for the next three decades.<sup>35</sup> The people of the Mississippian world, already navigating through a series of chiefdom failures, disease episodes, a weakening of chiefly authority, and various other challenges, now had to contend with armed slave raiders as well.

The effects of Westo, Occaneechi, and Iroquois slaving reverberated through much of the American South. The coastal mission chiefdoms of Guale and Mocama were some of the first to suffer from Indian slaving.<sup>36</sup> In fact, as early as 1620, Spanish authorities were reporting that Chiscas were raiding mission Indians. In these raids, Chiscas would kill many men and carry off many women and children. There is no evidence that the Chiscas were selling these Indians to European slavers, and the fact that they only had two guns in a 1677 battle with the Apalachee and Spanish also implies that these captives were not sold to Europeans.<sup>37</sup> Despite the continuous harassment by the Chiscas, it was Westo slaving that took the heaviest toll on the mission Indians.

The Guale and Mocama chiefdoms had already gone through several changes with the inauguration of the Spanish mission system among them. At the time that St. Augustine was established in 1565, there were two polities on the Georgia coast that roughly corresponded to the Guale chiefdom, which was centered along the inland waterways of the Sapelo River, and the Mocama chiefdom, which extended from St. Simon Island to the St. John's River (see Map 1). Both had numerous affiliated towns. Following the Spanish colonization and subsequent mission efforts, both chiefdoms went through many political upheavals, and after the Guale revolt of 1597, both provinces consolidated into a handful of towns.<sup>38</sup> Both chiefdoms retained missions in several towns, with resident friars and a light Spanish military presence.

As early as 1661, Westos and perhaps others were raiding the Georgia coast for Indian slaves to sell to Jamestown traders. Over the next several years, in a series of harrowing raids, Westo slavers swooped into Guale and Mocama and took scores of women and children and killed dozens of men. Both the Indians and the friars abandoned their missions and towns and relocated farther and farther south (see Map 4). Spanish authorities learned from some Westo prisoners that the Westos were staging their raids from the provinces of "Tama" and "Catufa"; the former can certainly be identified as Altamaha, indicating that the Westos were somewhere on the Oconee River. In 1662 the Westos turned and raided the Altamaha towns.<sup>39</sup>

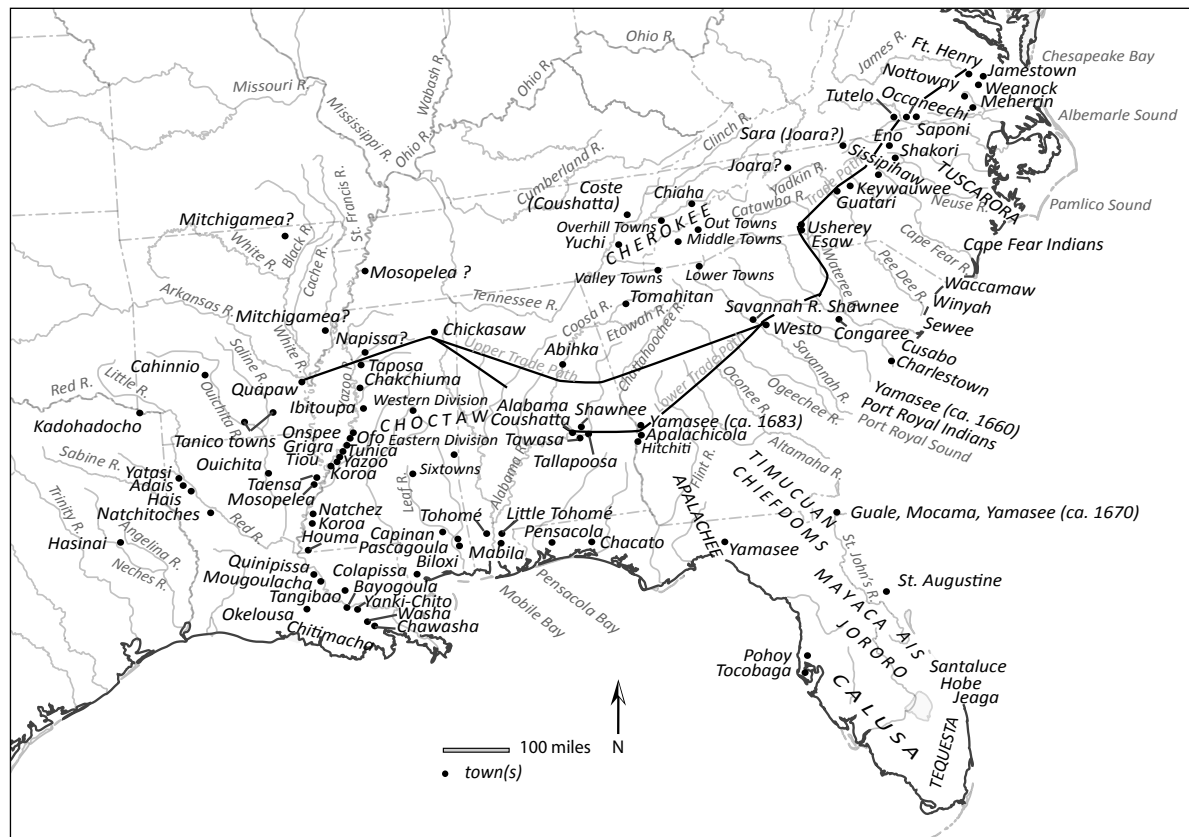
The Westo presence in the Oconee River valley helps explain the fate of the people of Ocute. People from the former chiefdoms of Altamaha and Ocute, who had moved out of their central towns and into dispersed farmsteads soon after the Soto expedition, would have been easy targets for slave raiders. As slave raiders filtered into the Oconee Valley, people fled the valley altogether. It is difficult to reconstruct their exact movements. For now, it

looks as though the chiefdoms splintered and some people journeyed west, where they joined the Apalachicola or settled in the former territory of Coosa to become the Tomahitans (see Map 4). Others moved into Spanish Florida to live among the Apalachees and Timucuan.<sup>40</sup>

Around 1663 a series of new towns appeared around Port Royal Sound in South Carolina (Map 5). Although the exact origins of these people have yet to be archaeologically confirmed, preliminary investigations indicate that some of the Yamasees, as the group of towns were collectively called, were refugees from the fallen paramount chiefdom of Ocute. The Yamasees in South Carolina were divided into the Upper and Lower divisions. The Lower Yamasees, consisting of four towns, were likely from the former Ocute, Altamaha, Toa, and Ichisi. Their central town was named Altamaha, indicating a shift in leadership from Ocute to Altamaha. The Upper Yamasees, composed of six towns, are more difficult to trace, but archaeologists suggest that some were people from Guale, Apalachee, and perhaps Coosa. Several Upper Yamasee towns, however, are of unknown origin.<sup>41</sup> The Yamasees may represent the first instance of coalescence or the binding of several disparate groups with very different origins into a single political entity.

With the Oconee Valley now empty, Westo raiders settled at an as-yet-undiscovered site on the upper Savannah River, where they had easy access to the Yamasees and other groups around Port Royal Sound (see Maps 4 and 5). By the late 1660s, to get away from the Westos, the Yamasees and other groups along the lower South Carolina coast moved farther south into the Guale and Mocama mission provinces, where they agreed to participate in the Spanish labor draft in exchange for Spanish protection (see Maps 4 and 5). By 1680 they had settled in at least twelve villages in Spanish Florida—nine on the barrier islands, two on the upper St. Johns River, and one in the panhandle of Florida in the Apalachee mission province (see Map 5). Despite their proximity to the missions, only a few Yamasee towns allowed friars to proselytize among them. For the most part, the Yamasees remained unconverted to Christianity and maintained separate communities from the Christian Indians.<sup>42</sup>

Westo, Occaneechi, and Iroquois raiding also had a dramatic effect on the present-day Virginia and North Carolina piedmont. Generally speaking, the lower piedmont and southern Appalachians represented the northeastern



outer edge of the Mississippian world, and as such it was characterized by both Woodland villages and Mississippian chiefdoms, most notably that of Powhatan. Those living in the lower piedmont and southern Appalachians also had much linguistic diversity. Languages from the major-language families of Siouan-Catawban, Algonquian, Iroquoian, and Muskogean were all spoken by various groups there. We know about the precontact people of the eastern piedmont and Appalachians through the clusters of towns represented by their archaeological phase names. The Hillsboro-phase people were on the Haw and Eno Rivers; the Dan River-phase people were on the upper Roanoke River; the Early Saratown-phase people were on the Dan River; the Caraway-phase people were on the Yadkin River; and the Cashie-phase people covered a broad expanse from present-day Virginia into central North Carolina (see Map 1). From early seventeenth-century documentary evidence, historic Indian groups can be tentatively identified with these early phases. As we have seen, the Occaneechis may have splintered from the Hillsboro-phase people as early as 1620 and moved to the Roanoke River. At the same time, other historically known groups emerged from the Hillsboro phase—the Enos, Shakoris, and Sissipahaws. The Guataris or Waterees (Caraway phase?), the Keyauwees (Caraway phase?), the Saras (Saratown phase), and the Tutelos and Saponis (Dan River phase) apparently continued to occupy their precontact homelands into the seventeenth century.<sup>43</sup>

In addition, in the North Carolina coastal plain territory from the Neuse River to the North Carolina–Virginia state line, archaeologists have identified the Cashie phase, which they interpret to be the precontact expression of the historic Tuscarora (see Map 1). Around 1600 the Cashie phase separated into three or more distinctive archaeological complexes that are generally associated with the Tuscaroras, the Meherrins, and the Nottoways (see Map 3). Cashie-phase people, as well as their later Tuscarora, Meherrin, and Nottoway descendants, more closely resembled their coastal Algonquin-speaking neighbors than their piedmont Mississippian neighbors. They built small, nucleated towns with longhouses surrounded by palisades. Although they were horticulturalists, fisherfolk, and hunters, they were not organized into chiefdoms; instead, they had a more council-oriented government presided over by a hereditary chief.<sup>44</sup>

The entrance of Jamestown into the Indian trade in the 1640s influenced events in the lower eastern Appalachian mountains and piedmont, especially since Iroquois, Occaneechi, and Westo raiders fanned throughout the areas

searching for slaves to sell to their European partners or, in the case of the Iroquois, to adopt. Between about 1650 and 1670, the people in these areas began to go through a series of movements, and, with one exception, the number and size of the towns were reduced. The Enos, Shakoris, Sissipahaws, Guataris, and Keyauwees, whose towns were already close to the Trade Path, remained in place. The Tutelos and Saponis, however, moved downstream and settled towns adjacent to the Occaneechis (see Maps 3, 4, and 5). Many of the Tuscarora towns were abandoned, and the Meherrin and Nottoway towns likewise diminished to only a few small towns. More distant groups moved into the piedmont. Sometime between 1635 and 1650, a group of Monongahelas, following their dispersal from the Ohio River valley at the hands of the Seneca, moved into the piedmont and settled a town at the juncture of the Staunton and Dan Rivers (see Maps 2 and 3). By 1670 most of the towns in the piedmont were quite small, with only about 150 to 200 inhabitants each. The exception to this was the Occaneechi trading center, which, with the joining of the Tutelos and Saponis, actually expanded between 1650 and 1670.<sup>45</sup>

We know from the documentary evidence that many of the towns throughout the region were involved in the trade to some degree. And the movement of many towns closer to the Trade Path, which became the major route to and from Virginia, indicates the pull that the new trade opportunities offered. Still, as Virginia trader Abraham Wood noted, the Occaneechis' supply of guns and ammunition made them "the Mart for all the Indians for at least 500 miles."<sup>46</sup> The archaeology corroborates Wood's observation. At the Sara town sites, for example, archaeologists have recovered copper bells and thousands of glass beads, among other ornaments, but few tools and weapons. At Occaneechi Town, on the other hand, archaeologists found numerous guns, iron knives, and hatchets, along with large amounts of beads and trinkets. The difference in trade goods indicates that the Occaneechis controlled the trade, clearly outstripping all others, and that Occaneechi Town was a regional trade center.<sup>47</sup> Although archaeologists cannot yet tell us much about what effects the trade had on the social or political order of these piedmont people, a few studies give some intriguing hints. One study of changing Cashie-phase (Tuscarora) burial practices sees an increasing complexity in social status at this time, indicating a move away from inherited leadership roles to roles based on achievement. Another study of Virginia piedmont groups likewise notes that European goods were more equitably distributed in burials, concluding that young men were engaged in the Euro-

pean trade and, through this engagement, moved their political system from ascribed to achieved status.<sup>48</sup>

The Virginia trade, and especially Occaneechi and Westo slave raiding, reverberated though the present-day Carolina piedmont as well. Both Soto and Juan Pardo were in parts of the Carolina piedmont in the sixteenth century, and because there has been a relatively substantial amount of archaeological investigation there, scholars have been able to reconstruct much about the geopolitics at the time of European contact. One of the most impressive Mississippian polities the expeditions encountered was in this area: Cofitachequi. At the time of the Soto entrada, the paramount chiefdom of Cofitachequi was centered on the Wateree River, most likely at the Mulberry site near present-day Camden, South Carolina (see Map 1). After departing from Ocute, Soto and his army passed through an expansive uninhabited zone for seventeen days before coming to the first towns of Cofitachequi. The paramount chiefdom of Cofitachequi may only have administered a territory of large towns and hamlets along the lower Wateree watershed, but its prominence from 1450 C.E. until the arrival of Soto had a dampening effect on the expansion of polities in other portions of the Carolina piedmont, making it the most prominent polity in the region at the time.<sup>49</sup>

About twenty years later, when Pardo traveled from Santa Elena, located on present-day Parris Island, South Carolina, into the lower piedmont, he, too, encountered Cofitachequi in the same location as when Soto was there. At the time of Pardo, the polity was composed of the chiefdoms of Cofitachequi (also called Canos in the Pardo documents and corresponding to the Mulberry ceramic phase) on the Wateree River, Guatari (the Caraway phase) on the middle Yadkin River, and Joara (the Burke phase and undoubtedly the Berry site) on the upper Catawba River (see Map 1). Between Cofitachequi and Joara, Chalaque was located on the lower and middle Catawba River, although it is unclear whether or not Chalaque was subservient to Cofitachequi. The archaeology of the middle Catawba River indicates that this section of the river valley was sparsely but continuously populated and lacked a hierarchical political order. Perhaps it could represent a buffer zone between Cofitachequi and Joara that had been settled by people living outside of a chiefly order. Pardo passed through this region, stopping at the town of Yssa, whose people later became known as Esaw or Nassaw.<sup>50</sup>

The Pardo accounts also give us the names of towns throughout this triangular region enclosed by the three polities and some hint of their political affiliations. These towns include not only the Yssa but also the Cataba

(Catawba), Suhere (Sugaree), Guaguiri, and Uchiri, among others. North of Joara and Guatari, Pardo encountered multiple simple chiefdoms that may or may not have been associated with Cofitachequi. To the northwest, he entered the northern polities of the paramount chiefdom of Coosa, which was still intact at the time. Pardo traveled through much of this section of the piedmont, even establishing several supply forts in various towns for future expeditions (although those expeditions never came to pass). Pardo also was seeking out Indian allies to help fortify Santa Elena and ultimately the new Spanish colony of St. Augustine. Therefore, Pardo was interested in the political and economic circumstances of Native polities, which meant that the accounts from this expedition have more details of these matters than do those of the Soto chroniclers.<sup>51</sup>

From the Pardo accounts, it is obvious that the lower piedmont was still thickly inhabited in the 1560s, even though some sort of political reshuffling had occurred since 1540. Cofitachequi appears to have still been intact, although it was in a somewhat diminished form and perhaps no longer a paramouncy. The center of power seems to have been shifting from Cofitachequi to the previously subordinate chiefdoms of Joara and Guatari. Archaeologists surmise that Cofitachequi's paramouncy prior to 1540 inhibited the political ambitions of micos along its borders. By 1567, though, Cofitachequi was significantly diminished, and Joara and Guatari were now flourishing. The Soto records hint that disease was in Cofitachequi, which could help account for the shifting political winds since such an episode would certainly have strained chiefly authority; but the dense population in 1567 would indicate that any disease episode would have been a localized event. Soto's presence could also have precipitated such changes, especially if these challenges came directly on the heels of a terrible disease episode. Conversely, such shifts were common enough in the Mississippian world, and they may have derived from purely Indian causes. Exactly what happened to Cofitachequi and the other lower piedmont polities after Pardo is at present uncertain. Other than two brief mentions of Joara and Cofitachequi in some Spanish accounts in 1605 and 1628, the Carolina piedmont chiefdoms disappear from the documentary record until 1670.<sup>52</sup>

In 1670 John Lederer, on commission by Virginia governor William Berkeley, traveled down the Trade Path to the vicinity of the former chiefdom territories described above. After an uneasy stay at Occaneechi Town, he continued south along the Trade Path, passing through several piedmont towns. He then entered Guatari (Wateree), which was several miles to the



south but in the general vicinity of the central Yadkin River. As noted above, by the time of Lederer's visit, Guatari had moved slightly upstream from its original Mississippian homeland to be closer to the Trade Path (see Map 4). Lederer remarks that their form of governance was different from the groups he had previously encountered and that their "king" held much power. Still, he does not describe this "king" in the same way as Mississippian micos were described in earlier years, all of which may indicate that Guatari retained something of its chiefly order but perhaps not on the scale that Pardo had observed.<sup>53</sup>

Several miles from Guatari, Lederer came to "Sara" or "Suala," which some scholars take to be an English derivation of Joara (Xuala to the Spanish). Now, however, Joara was 100 miles to the east of its sixteenth-century location on the upper Catawba River. Archaeology corroborates Lederer in that the upper Catawba River was abandoned by the mid-seventeenth century. Exactly where the people went, however, is less clear. Some archaeologists place Lederer's "Sara" on the upper Dan River with the Sara-phase people; others place it on the upper Yadkin River (see Maps 4 and 5).<sup>54</sup> In the former interpretation, the people of Joara would have had to join the local Sara-phase population; in the latter interpretation, they would have established an independent town nearer to Guatari. After leaving Sara, Lederer traveled southwest for two or three days before arriving at Wisacky (Pardo's Gueça, later known as Waxhaw). Lederer mentions (either through hearsay or first-hand observations) that the Wisacky were subject to the town of Ushery (Uchiri in the Pardo accounts) on the lower Catawba River (see Map 5). In Pardo's day, Ushery was hardly worth mentioning, but it was notable in 1670 as one of the only towns in the region that held other towns in subjugation—perhaps reflecting the beginnings of the lower Catawba Valley as the seat of power that it would become in the eighteenth century. Lederer, however, also noted that despite their prominence, the Ushery were being assaulted by armed Oustack (Westo) Indians, who preyed on them for slaves. Other refugees from Westo slaving also poured into the lower Catawba Valley, so that by 1690 the Wisacky, Yssa, Ushery, Catabas, and Suheres (Sugarees) took solace and refuge in numbers as they banded together in the lower Catawba Valley (see Maps 4 and 5). This was the beginning of the coalescence of the Catawbas.<sup>55</sup>

From Lederer's account, one can see that the Carolina piedmont had been significantly transformed since Pardo's day. Joara and Guatari were greatly reduced and scattered, and a new political body with Ushery as its center was

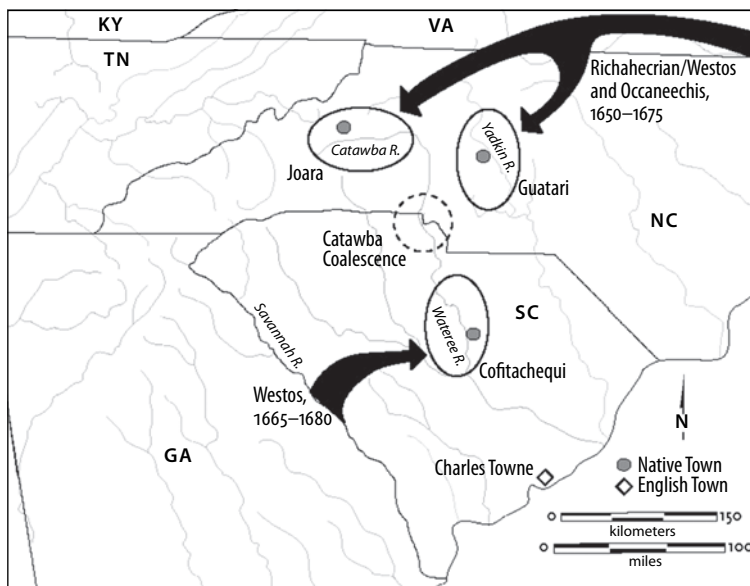


FIGURE 8 The shattering of the Carolina piedmont, ca 1650–1680 (From Robin A. Beck Jr., “Catawba Coalescence and the Shattering of the Carolina Piedmont, 1540–1675,” in *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South*, edited by Robbie Ethridge and Sheri M. Shuck-Hall, 135 [Map 5]. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009. Reprinted with permission of the University of Nebraska Press. © 2009 by the Board of Regents of the University of Nebraska.)

rising on the very section of the lower Catawba that had been thinly populated with subservient towns in the sixteenth century. All of these groups also were under attack by the Westos and Occaneechis. Scholars are beginning to understand that the Occaneechis and the Westos were responsible for the demise of Joara and the diminishment and eventual demise of Guatari. Virginia slave-trade partners and perhaps even Iroquois were marauding to the south in search of slaves. This could also help account for the emergence of the lower Catawba Valley as a place of rising political prominence; Joara and Guatari took the brunt of Westo and later Occaneechi aggressions, and the Catawba Valley was at the farthest remove from slave raiders (Figure 8). When the Westos moved to the Savannah River, they began their eastern and southern campaigns, targeting first Cofitachequi and only then Ushery.<sup>56</sup>

Lederer did not go to Cofitachequi, but a few years later in 1674 Henry Woodward passed through Cofitachequi on his way to the Westo town of Hickauhaugau on the Savannah River. From Woodward’s brief account, it

appears as if some sort of hierarchy was still in place; however, the scale and solidarity of the hierarchy is unclear. Cofitachequi was still on the Wateree River and could field about 1,000 fighting men. They were also sworn enemies of the Westos. The early colonial documents of South Carolina clearly indicate that Westo slavers were penetrating through the southern piedmont and into the low country. In fact, it appears that the low country polities had splintered by this time, with most of them taking up a migratory existence and allying themselves with Charlestown for protection against the Westos, which Carolina could offer after the 1674 Carolina-Westos alliance. Under this agreement, the Westos were not to take any Indians friendly to Carolina.<sup>57</sup> The Westos did not, however, abide by this rule. The Westo-Carolina agreement also proved devastating for Cofitachequi, which was well outside the supposed zone of “friendly” Indians. By 1675 it was gone.

The low country Native groups would come to be known as “settlement Indians” in the eighteenth century. In addition to the Congarees, Seewees, Winyahs, Waccamaws, and Cape Fear Indians, the settlement Indians included a large grouping often glossed as Cusabos, which included the Ashepoos, Bohickets, Combahees, Edistos, Escamaçus (or Santa Elena or Saint Helena Indians), Etiwans, Ahoyas (Hoyas), Kiwahs, Kussahs, Kussoes, Mayons, Damas, Stalames, Stonos, Toupas, Wandos, Wimbees, and Witcheaughes. The Cusabos inhabited the coastal region from Port Royal Sound to Charlestown. North of Charlestown, the Seewees inhabited the region around the mouth of the Santee River, the Congarees lived at the confluence of the Congaree and Wateree Rivers, the Winyahs lived at the mouth of the Pee Dee River, the Waccamaws lived along a small stretch of coastline from the Santee to the Cape Fear River, and the Cape Fear Indians lived along the lower Cape Fear River (see Map 5).<sup>58</sup>

Although little is known about the low country Indians, we have some broad outlines of their pre- and postcontact experiences. There is no doubt that some of these small groups had their precontact origins in the same sections of the Atlantic coast where they lived when the Carolinians arrived. Although few records refer to them, the Atlantic coastal groups would have been the first to suffer from introduced diseases, disruptions caused by European explorers who traveled along the Atlantic coast throughout the sixteenth century, and later pirate raids for slaves. Those around Santa Elena, situated on present-day Parris Island near Beaufort, South Carolina, had been encountering Europeans since the early sixteenth century. What impact these early encounters may have had awaits further study, but when Pardo

first came to Santa Elena in 1566, he encountered several small polities in the area, which included the simple chiefdoms of Uscamacu, Orista, Ahoya, Ahoyabe, and Cozao, among others (see Map 1). At the time of the Soto expedition, these chiefdoms likely came under the provincial governance of Cofitachequi. At the time of Pardo's second expedition in 1567–68, Cofitachequi, although still functioning as a chiefdom, had begun to be eclipsed by the rising polities of Joara and Guatari, and these coastal simple chiefdoms were apparently out from under the shadow of Cofitachequi.<sup>59</sup>

Nor has the history of the low country Indians after Charlestown was settled been fully reconstructed, except to say that they were under intense assault by the Westos even before the Carolinians arrived. When Charlestown entered into the trade pact with the Westos, as mentioned above, the Westos were not to conduct slave raids into the low country, but this rule was rarely enforced. In addition, Carolina colonists also entered the slave trade by enslaving their nearest Indian neighbors. Such unrestrained slaving along the Atlantic coast resulted in much displacement and even extinction of many of the low country Indians.

The Kussoes provide a case in point. The Kussoes undoubtedly were descendants of Cozao, which in the late sixteenth century was a town or small polity near the headwaters of the Coosawhatchie River in the general vicinity of present-day Fairfax, South Carolina (see Map 1). By the 1670s, the Kussoes had moved to the headwaters of the Ashley River. After several altercations with the Carolinians and a declaration of war against them in 1671, the Kussoes left the Ashley River and apparently took up a migratory existence in the low country. In 1674 Kussoe warriors killed three Englishmen, prompting the South Carolina council to commission Maurice Mathews to assemble a group of men to destroy them. The Kussoe campaign of the 1670s was part of a larger effort by Carolina to control the Indians in the environs of Charlestown and, in so doing, to acquire landholdings for the fledgling plantation economy. However, when Carolina commissioned men such as Mathews to subdue and police the surrounding Indians, it bolstered the influence and authority of a group of men who would soon challenge the Lords Proprietors to control the Carolina Indian slave trade: the so-called Goose Creek Men. Such actions gave the Goose Creek Men easy access to munitions and standing charters to conduct—or to hire Indian mercenaries such as the Westos to conduct—military campaigns against Indians in and around Charlestown. They would soon use these charters to their own benefit by fomenting intra-Indian conflicts and sponsoring slave raids by their

Indian partners. Mathews, for example, used the Kussoe expeditions as an excuse to capture scores of Kussoes, whom he later sold into slavery.<sup>60</sup>

Around 1675 the Kussoes and Carolinians came to an accord, although in so doing the Kussoes were forced to cede choice agricultural lands around the Ashley and Edisto Rivers. The Lords Proprietors—in part because they wanted to control the Indian trade and in part because they had serious concerns about Indian unrest erupting so close to the colony—began to institute trade regulations to stem the raiding of the settlement Indians. In 1680 they formalized the statutes in the Westo-Carolina pact to apply to all those involved in the Indian slave trade, passing a decree limiting the enslavement of Indians to only those more than 200 miles from Charlestown and only “enemy” Indians. This decree, like those before it, went largely ignored, and the Proprietors found it increasingly difficult to regulate what was becoming a booming business. In 1684 Carolina’s Lords Proprietors forced the Kussoes and several other Native groups in the low country to cede all of their best agricultural lands. Still, most of these groups remained in the low country until the Yamasee War of 1715, after which the Kussoe and many others moved northward to join the Catawbias or west to join the Creeks.<sup>61</sup>

Why would the Kussoes and other low country Indians agree to cede their best agricultural lands and yet remain near Charlestown? Anthropologist Eric Bowne offers some insight into this. Bowne contends that the low country Indians were hemmed in by Westo slavers at the time of the founding of Charlestown. Since the English subsequently sponsored Westo raiding, the Kussoes had much animosity toward the English settling near them. They also chose to keep moving. They were not only eluding Carolina militia and slavers but also Westo slavers. It also helps account for the Kussoes’ and other Indians’ choice to remain in the low country; they had no other option, since the Westos restricted any movement toward the west, and the Occaneechis (and later the Tuscaroras) blocked any movement to the north. All of this left the Kussoes and other low country Indians with little recourse except to forge some kind of *détente* with Carolina, even if such agreements weighed more in Carolina’s favor.<sup>62</sup>

Deep into the southern Appalachians and beyond, the Cherokees and others had some insulation against the piedmont and Atlantic coastal instabilities—at least for a while. In the sixteenth century, Soto and Pardo encountered some ancestors of the historic Cherokees in western North Carolina and eastern Tennessee. In the cases of the historic Cherokee divisions known as the Out Towns and Middle Towns, archaeological evidence reveals

a continuous occupation of the Tuckasegee and lower Little Tennessee Rivers from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries. The headwaters of the Savannah River, the location of the Lower Towns, likewise show continuous occupation from precontact days into the eighteenth century, but scholars are less sure about whether this represents ancestral Cherokees. In other cases, such as that on the upper Little Tennessee River and the Hiwasee River, the Qualla phase has middle Mississippian roots and extends into the Historic Period (1450–1838 C.E.). Since the Qualla phase represents the Overhill and Valley Towns, it is clear that they did not move any great distance after the Soto entrada (see Map 1).<sup>63</sup>

Scholars are not in agreement over which of the known sixteenth-century Cherokee archaeological sites Soto and Pardo visited. However, they do agree that in the sixteenth century, people in these river valleys were organized into simple chiefdoms, and that sometime after the expeditions, they quit building mounds. They also moved some of their towns from the northeast toward the southwest between 1600 and 1700 and were actively taking in refugees from other fallen polities. There is some documentary evidence that the Cherokees and Yuchis may have teamed up to raid the Guales as early as 1680; thus, they were either working with or bypassing the Westos and Occaneechis, and most likely it was the former. Unfortunately, the archaeological chronology from this region is rather long (from 1540 to 1670), and therefore we do not yet know if the mound building ceased and the movement of towns occurred because of Spanish perturbations or because of seventeenth-century slaving by the Occaneechis, Westos, and Iroquois—although both probably contributed to the general instability documented in the archaeological and ethnohistorical evidence.<sup>64</sup>

The emerging history of the Yuchis illustrates one strategy for surviving in the shatter zone. Archaeologists have yet to definitively identify a pre- and postcontact archaeological signature for the Yuchis. Furthermore, other than a brief mention by Pardo in 1568 of a Yuchi (Uchi/Huchi) coconspirator in a planned attack by Coosa representatives and a few subsequent mentions of the Yuchis in the documents from Spanish Florida, there is no other sighting of the Yuchis in the documentary record until around 1700. Still, archaeologists have pulled together these and other fragments of information to begin sketching the early history of this enigmatic group.<sup>65</sup>

The Yuchis more than likely originated in the middle to upper Tennessee River valley, although precisely where is not known. They were a simple chiefdom that may or may not have come under the umbrella of the para-

mount chiefdom of Coosa in the mid-sixteenth century. The first definite documentary reference to them after Pardo occurred in the late 1690s, when Europeans encountered them in the middle Tennessee River valley between the Coushattas and the Cherokees (see Map 3). Although some Yuchis may have remained in their ancestral homelands as late as 1690, as instability rolled across the Appalachians in the late seventeenth century with the southern slaving and war campaigns of the Iroquois and the emergence of southern militarized slavers such as the Westos and Occaneechis, the Yuchi chiefdom, like many of those around it, broke apart. In the case of the Yuchis, as we will see, they apparently sought safety and alliance by fanning out from the piedmont to the coastal plain and attaching themselves to larger political bodies.<sup>66</sup>

The instability emanating from the Atlantic coast and piedmont also radiated westward beyond the Appalachians and southward into present-day central Alabama and even Florida. Throughout the seventeenth century, a flood of migrants settled in present-day central Alabama, where they joined the Tallapoosas, Abihkas, Apalachicolas, and Alabamas. Between the upper Alabama River and the big bend in the Tallapoosa River, migrants established so many towns that it is difficult to archaeologically distinguish one province from the next. Migrants from fallen chiefdoms were attracted to central Alabama partly because the four polities forming there—Tallapoosa, Abihka, Apalachicola, and Alabama—represented relatively stable political entities and partly because trade with the Floridians gave them some access to European goods, although they could not acquire firearms in any great quantity.

The towns in the Tallapoosa province, especially, grew in both size and number from the mid- to late seventeenth century. Tukabatchee, for instance, expanded from a small Shine II mound center in 1575 C.E. to four or five times its former size, and a series of new towns were settled on the north bank of the Tallapoosa River as well.<sup>67</sup> People fleeing the piedmont also migrated down the Coosa River to join the groups coalescing on the upper Alabama. As we have seen, the northernmost edge of the paramount chiefdom of Coosa extended into eastern Tennessee, where it encompassed the Coushatta-speaking chiefdoms of Coste and Chiaha. Coste and Chiaha, undoubtedly, felt the fall of Coosa. After Coosa declined in the late sixteenth century, the Coste and Chiaha chiefdoms also declined. Seventeenth-century European eyewitnesses described Coste as only a small town, which, given its proximity to both the Westos and Occaneechis, left its inhabitants

extremely vulnerable to slave raiders.<sup>68</sup> Although some Coste stayed in Tennessee, many migrated hundreds of miles away (see Map 4). When Marcos Delgado visited the Alabama province in 1686, he observed several towns of “Qusate,” or Coushatta, which he estimated to contain about 500 warriors (or about 2,000 people total). The main Coushatta town was Coosada. Soto and Pardo found the Coushatta-speaking towns of Tasqui and Tasquiqui on the Hiwassee River in Tennessee; it is quite likely that some of the people from Tasqui and Tasquiqui migrated south to get away from slave raiders. They may have settled the smaller Coushatta towns of Tubani and Taskigi (Tuskegee) on the upper Alabama River and coalesced with the Coosadas to become the Coushattas (see Maps 4 and 5).<sup>69</sup>

The movement of Coushatta-speaking people to central Alabama has puzzled scholars for many years. Recent investigations, however, have shown the Coushattas and Alabamas to have had mutual, albeit ancient, origins in the Middle Mississippian Shiloh mounds.<sup>70</sup> This ancient connection helps explain the striking similarities between the Coushatta and Alabama languages. These linguistic and perhaps kinship connections may have acted as “pull factors” to central Alabama when Coushatta-speakers from the piedmont were considering relocation options.<sup>71</sup>

The number of towns in the Apalachicola province on the lower Chattahoochee also expanded between 1650 and 1680, and several of these were settled by people moving out of the reach of Westo and Occaneechi slavers. Around 1680 a group of Coushatta speakers also moved to the Chattahoochee and settled a town named Tuskegee (see Map 4). The town shared a name with the other Coushatta-speaking town on the upper Alabama and, like the Alabama town, may also have been settled by some of the descendants of Tasqui and/or Tasquiqui on the Hiwassee River (see Map 4). These Tuskegee settlers on the Chattahoochee undoubtedly were part of the larger migration of Coushatta-speaking people fleeing the lower piedmont in the wake of Occaneechi, Westo, and Iroquois raiding.<sup>72</sup>

Westo and Occaneechi raiders were not intimidated by the coalescences going on in present-day central Alabama, and slave raiders penetrated directly into the territory. In 1674 Woodward reported that Westos raided the Cowetas and Cussitas (in Apalachicola), the Cherokees, the Chickasaws, and the Chiscas, and that these groups were considering going to war against the Westos.<sup>73</sup> In addition, around 1670 the three towns at Whorton’s Bend that had once comprised part of the Coosa paramount chiefdom and were now known as the Abihkas moved farther south on the Coosa River, set-



ting one large town on Wood's Island about twelve miles downstream from Whorton's Bend (see Maps 4 and 5). There, they built one large town, although some people also lived in nearby farmsteads. This congregating into one large town may have been a reaction to the intensification of slaving in the area. The Abihkas had been engaged with the Spanish trade since about 1630, and they had already moved their towns farther down the Coosa River to be in better proximity to this trade. The move to Wood's Island put them even closer to it. And although their island location provided some measure of security, they also needed guns. For the first time, these groups acquired European-made firearms, as indicated by flintlock gun parts, lead shot, and gun flints in the archaeological record.<sup>74</sup> From whom they purchased the guns, however, is not known.

Unfortunately, the era of Occaneechi and Westo raiding in the lower South coincides with the years for which we have no written records of Chickasaw life and very little archaeology. Given the distance and the central Alabama wedge of settlements between them, it is doubtful that the Chickasaws saw much direct action from either the Westos or Occaneechis, despite Woodward's report that they were preparing for war against the Westos. Recent archaeological analysis of Chickasaw settlement patterns in the present-day Tupelo area suggests that this is the case. As discussed earlier, archaeologists have reason to believe that the chiefdom of Chicaza fell soon after its encounter with Soto, although there is still some debate over the timing. The scant archaeological data for the early seventeenth century reveals that the Chicaza, who had already moved into dispersed farmsteads in the Black Prairie uplands by around 1600, while continuing to live in dispersed farmsteads, moved farther north. They continued to move north over the next decades and reached the present-day Tupelo area sometime around 1650, where they would stay until Indian Removal (see Figure 7). For the first few decades while in this new location, the population continued their dispersed settlement pattern, settling small towns across Town, Chiwapa, and Coonewah Creeks. Recent analysis of their settlement patterns from the mid-seventeenth century to the nineteenth century reflects that the Chickasaws alternately dispersed and contracted their settlements over the 250 years they were in this vicinity. Although people would have had other considerations in choosing a locale to live in, certainly one of those considerations was safety from external foes. A dispersed settlement pattern, then, indicates some sort of peace and stability, since people would feel safe enough to live at some distance from one another. Alternately, a nucleated or compact settle-

ment pattern indicates an increase in hostilities and external dangers, since people would congregate for safety.<sup>75</sup> In this case, when the Chickasaws first reached the present-day Tupelo area, they may have felt safe enough to disperse themselves across three drainages, indicating that they were probably not being directly raided by the Westos or other slavers. Even so, shock waves from eastern disturbances were already reverberating throughout the new Chickasaw homeland, as well as the whole of the lower South to the Mississippi River valley.

## CHAPTER 5

### *Eastern Shock Waves on Western Shores, ca. 1650–1680*

As the Atlantic seaboard became a shatter zone, shock waves from these disruptions began emanating out of the east and reverberating throughout the lower South to the Mississippi River valley and beyond. At the time of the Hernando de Soto expeditions, the central and lower Mississippi River valley was home to some of the most powerful, populous, and impressive polities through which the Spaniards had passed.<sup>1</sup> French explorers paddling down the Mississippi 130 years later did not encounter any of these. What happened to the Indians of the central and lower Mississippi Valley between the mid-sixteenth and late seventeenth centuries, however, is poorly known. Only one thing is certain: whatever changes that were wrought occurred before the sustained presence of Europeans. After Soto, no Europeans ventured into this region until Joliet and Marquette made their voyage down the Mississippi in 1673.

Several scholars have proposed that high losses from introduced disease precipitated the collapse and abandonment of the polities in the central and lower Mississippi Valley. One of the major impacts of European contact certainly was the introduction of Old World diseases. And there is some small evidence for the presence of disease in the Mississippi River valley before sustained European contact. Scholars document possible and probable disease episodes in the southern plains as early as 1535 and into the mid-seventeenth century, as well as early seventeenth-century disease episodes in the upper Mississippi River valley. As we will see, people in the central and lower Mississippi Valley had much contact with Indian populations to the north, west, and east, and disease could have entered this region through these connec-

tions sometime prior to the mid-seventeenth century. Even so, scholars now agree that any loss of life from disease was not a sudden collapse but rather a continuous drain of population over 100 or more years through serial episodes of disease.<sup>2</sup>

Scholars also acknowledge that changes in Native life that took place after European contact were not solely due to disease but also to contributing factors such as slaving, increased violence, and entry into commercial trade. Disease episodes certainly tore continually at Mississippian life, but we can no longer single out disease as the sole factor for collapse. Indeed, as I argue here, the shock waves from the disruptions occurring with Native participation in the European trade system penetrated far beyond the beachheads of empire. Shock waves reached the Mississippi River valley well before Europeans arrived, and they set in motion a sequence of events, movements, opportunities, and failures that had changed Indian life before Joliet, Marquette, La Salle, and all the other Frenchmen and their Indian allies canoed down the Mississippi River in the late seventeenth century.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, disease was probably an important factor, but it was not the only factor. Rather, we have also to consider events happening on the Atlantic seaboard, especially those concerned with the colonial trade system.

At the time of European contact and as witnessed by Soto's men, the central and lower Mississippi River valley was home to several large and impressive polities. After leaving Chicaza in April 1541, Soto's army traveled for seven to nine days through an uninhabited territory or buffer zone before reaching the first town of Quizquiz (see Map 1). The people of Quizquiz were quite surprised when Soto arrived, indicating, among other things, that they had virtually no intercourse with the people of northeast Mississippi. The chiefdom of Quizquiz comprised several towns situated on fertile ridges overlooking oxbow lakes just south of present-day Memphis.<sup>4</sup> While Soto was preparing to cross the Mississippi River not far from the towns of Quizquiz, the mico from the chiefdom across the river, Chief Aquijo, arrived to meet the conquistador. Chief Aquijo was seated beneath a canopy in the lead canoe of a fleet of 200 large canoes. The canoes carried his principal men, also seated under canopies, and as many as 7,000 warriors, all of whom were armed with bows and arrows, painted red, wearing colorful feathers, and carrying woven-cane shields. The fleet reminded the Spaniards of Spanish galleys, and the canoes moved in unison and in good military order. Despite the grandeur of their first meeting, relations soon deteriorated between the Indians and the Spaniards, and over the next twenty-seven days, while Soto's

men built piraguas with which to cross the Mississippi, Chief Aquijo's navy alternately assaulted them and withdrew, until finally their "lord," Pacaha, ordered them to let the Spaniards cross in peace. Obviously, Aquijo fell under the dominion of the chiefdom of Pacaha.<sup>5</sup>

Chief Aquijo was the mico of a chiefdom located directly across from Soto's crossing place, which probably would place it on the western bank of the Mississippi just south of Memphis (see Map 1).<sup>6</sup> After leaving Aquijo, Soto headed northwest to the chiefdom of Casqui, which lay a few miles up the St. Francis River. The main town of Casqui was probably at the Parkin site, which is situated on the eastern bank of the St. Francis River just below its confluence with the Tyronza River, about twenty miles northwest of present-day Memphis. At the Parkin archaeological site, one can still view something of the grandeur of these ancient chiefdoms of the central Mississippi Valley. The temple mound at Parkin is twenty-one feet high, facing a plaza in the center of the town. Domestic structures were clustered around the plaza. The St. Francis River protected one side of the town, and a palisade and a deep ditch protected the remainder.<sup>7</sup> Later, the Spaniards would pass through Quiguate, a chiefdom downstream from Casqui on the St. Francis that was apparently subject to Casqui.<sup>8</sup>

After leaving Casqui, Soto turned directly east, back toward the Mississippi River and the province of Pacaha, which was the dominant polity in the region. Not only had the people of both Quizquiz and Aquijo told Soto that Pacaha was their lord, but he also heard much about Pacaha from his enemies at Casqui. The principal town of Pacaha is probably the Bradley site in present-day Crittendon County, Arkansas, on Wapanocca Bayou near its confluence with the Mississippi River, about twenty miles north of Memphis (see Map 1). Warriors from Casqui went with Soto to Pacaha to seek vengeance for depredations the Pacahas had earlier committed against them. In the ensuing battle, Casqui warriors ransacked the town, desecrated the temple that contained the remains of Pacaha venerated ancestors, and took much booty. They also released the Casqui slaves who were being held there.<sup>9</sup>

The principal town of Pacaha, like Casqui, was impressive. It had four mounds and was surrounded by a palisade and a ditch. Archaeologists have also found two other clusters of sites in northeast Arkansas dating to the same time period, indicating that two other polities were nearby—although what, if any, relationship they had with Pacaha is unknown. North of Pacaha, one entered the large, sparsely inhabited Vacant Quarter.<sup>10</sup>

Between 1541 and 1542, the Soto expedition bounced between the large chiefdoms of the central Mississippi Valley and the outlying, marginally Mississippian polities that lay on the boundary of the eastern woodlands and the Great Plains. On the northwestern boundary lay the chiefdoms of Coligua, which was in the Ozark Plateaus on the White River near present-day Batesville, Arkansas (see Map 1). Coligua, which was outside of the Mississippi River meander zone, was small in comparison to chiefdoms such as Casqui in the meander zone.<sup>11</sup> Other chiefdoms outside of the meander zone were likewise small, and the Spaniards passed through several of these (Calpista, Palisema, Tanico, Tutilcoya, Cayas, Tula, Quipana, Anoixi, Quitamaya, Chagute, and Aguacay). These upland chiefdoms, many of which appear to have been Caddoan and Tunica speakers, were most likely small, independent, simple chiefdoms. Their locations, however, provided ample corn harvests (the chroniclers describe all of them as possessing good stores of corn) and some served as gateway communities to western resources such as bison. Cayas, Chagute, and Aguacay specialized in salt extraction and salt trading, making them especially important trade depots for Mississippians across the lower South.<sup>12</sup>

These small chiefdoms represent the westernmost boundary of the Mississippian world in the sixteenth century. Soto found the upland chiefdoms unsuitable for sustaining his large army, and he repeatedly returned from the army's forays west to the large chiefdoms of the central Mississippi Valley. In addition to Pacaha and the St. Francis River chiefdoms, the lower Arkansas River valley was also home to several spectacular Mississippian polities. Soto spent a particularly tough winter at one of these, the province of Utiangüe near Little Rock, which also held at least one adjacent chiefdom, Tietiquaquo, in subjugation. They also entered into a political scrap between the chiefdoms of Anlico, which was probably the Menard site located at the mouth of the Arkansas River, and Guachoya, which was on Bayou Macon near the Mississippi River and just south of Anlico (see Map 1).<sup>13</sup>

By all accounts, Anlico was a populous, rich chiefdom. Elvas thought it the most populous chiefdom they had seen. The entire region around the mico's house was thickly populated for a quarter of a mile, and within a league and a half of the principal town, there were several other large towns. The mico of Anlico resisted the Spaniards' invasion by ordering his townspeople to flee the town and hide all their corn in the woods. He refused to meet with Soto and sent instead an imposter to spy on him. Soto stayed at Anlico about two and a half weeks, and while he was there, the mico of Guachoya visited

the conquistador to express his friendship. A few days later, Soto decided to depart for the friendlier Guachoya in order to gather intelligence and advice on descending the Mississippi River.<sup>14</sup>

While at Guachoya, Soto learned about a powerful chiefdom to the south that was within a three-day journey by canoe. This was Quigualtam—a famously bellicose, well-organized, and large chiefdom. Completely unimintimidated, Soto sent an order to the mico of Quigualtam to show his face. The reply was withering. Quigualtam answered that if Soto was indeed the son of the Sun, as he claimed to be, then he should dry up the Mississippi River. Only then would Quigualtam come to pay his respects. Otherwise, he was accustomed to all paying subservience to him, either willingly or by force, and he would not come to Soto. He then ordered Soto to come to him. The answer enraged Soto, and he threatened to invade Quigualtam then and there. This, however, was impossible, since not only was Soto's army diminished to just over 300 men and only a few horses, but Soto himself was also deathly ill. Instead, Soto turned his rage on Anlico. He ordered a surprise attack on Anlico, which his men carried out with exceptional cruelty, killing hundreds of people. Afterward, Guachoya warriors plundered the town. Soto died soon after this attack, and on his deathbed he appointed Luis de Moscoso as captain general. It was under Moscoso that the Spaniards would later briefly encounter the warriors of Quigualtam as they fled in boats down the Mississippi River to Mexico.<sup>15</sup>

After Soto's death, with mutiny in the air, Moscoso decided the expedition was finished and that the army should return to Mexico. He first determined to go overland, since the reports of the earlier explorer Cabeza de Vaca indicated that such was possible. In their search for an overland route, the army moved through southwestern Arkansas into northeastern Texas. In Texas they came across several small towns in the transitional zone between the woodlands and the prairie: Nisohone, Lacane, Nondacao, Aays, Soacatino, and Guasco (see Map 1). These towns only minimally resembled the Mississippian towns through which the Spaniards had passed, and the narratives describe them as having small populations with little corn. The one exception was the paramount chiefdom of Naguatex on the Red River in western Arkansas. Still, at all of these towns, the Spaniards were disappointed to learn that beyond their borders lay the land of buffalo hunters, no corn, and few towns. The Spaniards had come to the western edge of the Mississippian world; beyond this were buffalo hunters living in widely dispersed

camps whose descendants would later become part of the Wichita and Pawnee confederacies in the late seventeenth century.<sup>16</sup>

Moscoso and his councillors, realizing that these buffalo hunters could not support what was left of the army, decided that an overland trek was too risky; they opted to take their chances on the Mississippi River instead. They returned to the Mississippi River chiefdoms, this time spending the winter of 1542–43 at the populous chiefdom of Aminoya and building the seven boats they would use for their descent down the river. Aminoya was on the Mississippi River likely near the present-day Desha-Phillips county line, about twenty miles north of the mouth of the Arkansas (see Map 1).<sup>17</sup>

When the 300 or so survivors of the Soto expedition, having decided to return to New Spain, pushed their small boats into the channel of the Mississippi River after departing Aminoya, they first passed Guachoya, the chiefdom that had befriended Soto and aided in the attack on Anlico. Awaiting their arrival, Guachoyans had built a large arbor on the riverbank for the Spaniards in case they wanted to rest, and warriors awaited them in canoes. Moscoso declined going ashore, and as the Spaniards passed, Guachoya warriors paddled into the channel to escort them to the edge of their territory. The southern limit of Guachoya corresponds to a split in the river into two lateral channels, separated by one or more large islands. Scholars understand the western split in the channel to have been a lateral channel of the Mississippi known as the Bayou Macon, which existed until the U.S. Corps of Engineers built the levee system that obliterated it in the nineteenth century. Guachoya was located on it in the sixteenth century. This lateral channel began near present-day Arkansas City. The eastern split was Deer Creek, which ran to the Yazoo River.<sup>18</sup> The Guachoyons told Moscoso that the province of Quigualtam lay nearby on the eastern side of the river.<sup>19</sup>

Guachoya warriors asked Moscoso to aid them in an attack on Quigualtam, but the Spanish commander refused, being suspicious of the Guachoyans and most certainly aware of his army's desperate condition. The Spaniards continued down the main channel alone. For three days they moved downstream, pillaging riverside villages for food. Then, as they entered the territory of Quigualtam, the canoes of Quigualtam entered the Mississippi River. On July 4, 1542, as the Spaniards readied their boats, they were awed and frightened at the sight of over 100 canoes on the river. The chroniclers marveled at the sheer size of the water craft; the larger canoes held about thirty paddlers on each side as well as about thirty warriors lined down the



center. The crews sang songs to keep their paddle strokes in unison. In some cases, the boats, the clothing of the crew, and the awnings for the commanders were all of a single color. The whole navy observed strict discipline and order.<sup>20</sup>

Quigualtam warriors alternately attacked, harassed, and circled the small Spanish fleet throughout the day and night, all the while singing their songs and shouting “Quigualtam.” Around noon of the second day, the fleet reached the southern border of their territory, and the canoes of Quigualtam turned around and paddled upriver, leaving the Spaniards to continue their course downstream. Obviously, they had come to the southern limits of Quigualtam territory (see Map 1). A short time later, however, they were attacked by another navy from another polity, the name of which went unrecorded. This fleet pursued the Spaniards the rest of this day, throughout the night, and into the midmorning, at which point they came to the southern end of their territory and turned back. Here, the Spaniards apparently entered a third polity, because yet another fleet of canoes began an aggressive pursuit of them. This Indian fleet, however, was small and only pursued the Spaniards for a short distance.<sup>21</sup>

After this third attack, the Spaniards continued downstream to the mouth of the Mississippi River. They were exhausted and did not see any Indians for several days, giving them some time to rest. While they were anchored at the mouth of the river gathering supplies for a trip that was planned to parallel the Gulf shore, a small contingent of Indian warriors attacked them one last time. The chroniclers noticed that these Gulf coast Indians looked different from the interior Indians—they were taller and more dark skinned. They also seemed to make their living by fishing the coastal waterways.<sup>22</sup>

Although poorly documented compared to some of the other events of the expedition, this last leg of the Soto adventure at least gives us a glimpse into the politics between the Arkansas River and the mouth of the Mississippi. Quigualtam had achieved great fame and notoriety, not only among the Southern Indians at the time of Soto but, once the reports of the expedition began to circulate throughout New Spain and Europe, among Europeans as well. Archaeologists have yet to identify the precontact site that was the central town of Quigualtam, and there are several candidate mound sites along this stretch of the Mississippi. The identities of the two polities south of Quigualtam likewise are not known, but archaeologists believe that one or both of them may have been under the domain of Quigualtam. Some scholars suggest that the people of Quigualtam were the direct ancestors of

the Natchez; others propose that one of the subordinate polities was the Natchez and that the Natchez chiefdom eclipsed Quigualtam sometime after the Soto entrada.<sup>23</sup>

All of the Soto chroniclers remarked that the Mississippi River polities—Aquiyo, Casqui, Quiguate, Pacaha, Anlico, Guachoya, Aminoya, and especially Quigualtam—were the best they had encountered in all of their time in La Florida. These Mississippi River chiefdoms greatly impressed the Spaniards with their large towns, well-organized militaries and navies, abundance of foodstuffs, and large populations. Given the size, organization, and prosperity of the chiefdoms in the central and lower Mississippi Valley, it is surpassingly strange that most were no longer in evidence when French expeditions landed on the banks of the Arkansas River 130 years later. In 1673 Louis Joliet and Father Jacques Marquette, the first Europeans since Soto to explore the central Mississippi Valley, traveled down the river from the mouth of the Wisconsin River. Other than a small town of Illinois Indians about 200 miles downstream, a notable display of rock art just north of the Missouri River (which was rumored to be the home of a human-eating monster), and an encounter with Indians with guns observing them from the riverbank just below the mouth of the Ohio, they found little to remark upon.<sup>24</sup>

When encountering the armed Indians, Marquette hailed them in Huron, and they replied, but he does not indicate whether or not they spoke in Huron or one of the other six languages that he spoke. The Frenchmen then went ashore and into the town. While the group dined on bison, their hosts explained that they had guns, hatchets, hoes, knives, beads, and flasks of “double glass,” in which they kept their gunpowder. They continued that they bought cloth and other goods from Europeans who lived to the east, and that some of the Europeans reminded them of Father Marquette, indicating that they wore rosaries. They also informed the small expedition that they were only ten days from the sea—news that gave the French new courage and inspired them to “paddle with fresh ardor” the next day.<sup>25</sup>

Scholars are unsure of the identity of both this small group of Indians and the Europeans with whom they were trading. Although he does not name them in his account, Marquette identified them as Mosopeleas on a map he drew of the Mississippi Valley. The Mosopeleas were probably recent Siouan-speaking immigrants from the Ohio Valley who had moved westward into the Vacant Quarter, perhaps pushed there by Iroquois raiding and drawn to this section of the Mississippi River because of its vacancy (see Maps 4 and

5). Some apparently also moved to the Yazoo River valley, where they became known as the Ofo. As to the Europeans they were trading with, it is feasible that they were the Spaniards in Florida, although this would have required quite a bit of travel. They obviously had access to the gun trade, and since the La Florida Spaniards traded few arms to Indians at this time, it is more likely that the Mosopeleas were trading with other French or English up the Ohio River. Given the reference to their eastern partners looking like Father Marquette and wearing rosaries, they were likely trading with French traders, who were usually closely associated with local missionaries.<sup>26</sup>

After departing from this village, the Canadians did not report encountering any Natives again until they reached a small town of Mitchigamea Indians about eight to ten leagues north of the Arkansas River. The location of the 1673 Mitchigamea town on the Mississippi River is not known, and Marquette's map shows a second, inland Mitchigamea town as well. Taking Marquette's journal and map as evidence, though, one could place the river town about thirty miles north of Cappa, the first town of the Quapaws. This would put the Mitchigamea town on the Mississippi in the vicinity of the mouth of the St. Francis River, which would also place it in or near the former territory of Casqui and Quiguate.<sup>27</sup>

The Mitchigamea were not the descendants of the Mississippian chiefdoms, and most scholars believe that they were a group who originated near the Great Lakes and had joined the Illinois Confederacy sometime in the seventeenth century. When Joliet and Marquette encountered this town in 1673, it had probably been settled by a small group of Mitchigameas who had recently moved south, perhaps because of problems with the Fox and Sioux. Father Marquette, however, was surprised when they did not speak any of the Indian languages he knew. An elderly Mitchigamea man who spoke a little Illinois was finally summoned. If the Mitchigameas were an Illinois splinter group, it is puzzling that only one among them would speak Illinois. In fact, Marquette's observation has puzzled linguists for many years, and they tentatively conclude that the Mitchigameas were only recent migrants to the Illinois Confederacy in the seventeenth century and did not speak a language in the Illinois language family.<sup>28</sup> The Mitchigameas did not remain long in this location. Nine years later in 1682, René Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, made his famous voyage from French Canada to the mouth of the Mississippi River. Between the mouth of the Ohio River and the mouth of the Arkansas River, they reported passing only a small Tamaroa village (an Illinois group)

at the mouth of the Illinois River and having a brief encounter with some Chickasaw scouts near present-day Memphis. They did not encounter the Mosopelea group with European goods and guns south of the Ohio River, and they did not encounter the Mitchigameas, indicating that both of these small groups had probably moved on by then.<sup>29</sup>

La Salle's accounts are the first written observations on Chickasaws since Soto, and, although brief, they give us a few hints about them at this time. Somewhere near one of the bluffs overlooking the Mississippi River, known today as Chickasaw Bluffs near present-day Memphis, Tennessee, La Salle's small fleet of canoes nosed to the eastern riverbank in order to replenish their food stores. One day, while hunting, a gunsmith, Pierre Prudhomme, disappeared. When Prudhomme did not return after a few days, La Salle, fearing for the man's safety, enlisted two of the Loup warriors traveling with him to search for the hapless gunsmith. The Loups discovered human tracks, beaten paths, and even a recently vacated shelter in the vicinity. The commander now feared the worst—enemy Indians—and he ordered his men to build a blockhouse, which later came to be known as Fort Prudhomme.<sup>30</sup>

This small party stayed at Fort Prudhomme for around ten days. During this time, French scouts combed the vicinity, and one of them captured two men. When the French scouts brought the two men into camp, La Salle inquired of them who they were. Neither La Salle nor any of his companions understood their language, but the men signaled in the trade sign language that they were "Chicacha" and that they were four or five days from their towns. The people of Chicaza whom Soto met in 1540 were likely the forebears of the Chicachas whom La Salle met in 1682—who were unmistakably the forebears of the eighteenth-century Chickasaws. The story of these two unnamed Chickasaw men, although short, is the first documentary evidence of the Chickasaw Indians in their homelands since the visit of the Soto expedition.<sup>31</sup>

Upon further interrogation of the two Chickasaws, La Salle's lieutenant, Henri de Tonti, also learned that their towns had about 2,000 warriors (or about 7,000 people). La Salle also noted in his memoirs that they all had "flat heads," referencing the cranial deformation that was popular among many Southern Indians at the time. Although never having traveled this far south, La Salle and his Canadian and Indian companions knew about the Chickasaws and had heard that the Chickasaw Indian towns were south of the mouth of the Ohio River, yet at some remove from the Mississippi River.

In fact, just two years earlier in 1680, a joint Chickasaw, Osage, and Quapaw delegation had come to the Kaskaskia mission on the Illinois River to solicit a trade partnership with the French.<sup>32</sup>

La Salle released one of the Chickasaw men with the understanding that he would go to his towns, send back Prudhomme if he was there, and rendezvous with the French party at the mouth of the Chickasaw River ten leagues downstream. The Chickasaw River referred to by La Salle probably is the present-day Wolf River near Memphis, Tennessee. Although Prudhomme eventually made his way back to the French camp, the Chickasaw man never returned, and the party drifted past the rendezvous point during a foggy night. The accounts differ as to whether the other man stayed with La Salle of his own accord or because he was being held prisoner. Tonti noted that La Salle had determined to find the Chickasaw towns, and that he had gathered some presents and asked the two Chickasaws to take him and a small party of Frenchmen to their towns. After traveling for two days, La Salle became angry with the Chickasaw men when they explained that the journey would take three more days. Apparently believing some subterfuge was afoot, La Salle then sent one man with the presents to the towns and kept the other as a hostage. One account, however, described the man who stayed as “a small, rather old man, very resolute, [who] wanted to follow along with us.” Whichever was the case, this Chickasaw man continued downstream with the French.<sup>33</sup>

Since La Salle and his scouts, while at Fort Prudhomme, canvassed much of the same area in which Quizquiz had been located; since they never mentioned the polity; and since Chickasaw men freely roamed this territory, it is safe to say that by 1682 Quizquiz was no more. The French also made no mention of Aquijo, whose navy had so impressed Soto, indicating that this polity, too, was now gone. This account also corroborates that the Chickasaws had already relocated to the present-day Tupelo area by this time, since that location would have put them about 100 miles east of present-day Memphis—which squares with the four to five days that the Chickasaw scouts had told La Salle the trip would be.

That these French expeditions found the region between the Missouri River and north of present-day Memphis thinly populated should not be surprising, since this was the westernmost border of the Vacant Quarter, which, although apparently attracting refugees, was still mostly vacant at this time. However, it is surprising that they also found the population between present-day Memphis and the Arkansas River—the former territories

of Pacaha, Casqui, Aquijo, Quizquiz, Anlico, Guachoya, Aminoya, and the other chiefdoms—also thinly populated, and that they did not see or hear about grand and powerful polities along this section of the river. Clearly, the chiefdoms of the central Mississippi Valley that had so impressed Soto's army were gone or seriously diminished by the late seventeenth century.

What the Frenchmen found instead were the Quapaws (known at this time as the Arkansas), who had likely arrived only a few decades earlier and who had settled a series of small towns near where the former populous chiefdoms of Anlico and Aminoya once stood (see Map 5). Joliet and Marquette were the first Europeans to meet the Quapaws. After leaving the Mitchigamea village, Joliet and Marquette traveled a short distance before being met by two Quapaw canoes. In one, the leader held aloft a calumet, the pipe of peace and friendship. They led the small group of explorers to their town, and the two parties conversed in Illinois through a Quapaw interpreter. Joliet and Marquette apparently were at Cappa, the northernmost town of the four Quapaw towns, located north of the White River confluence.<sup>34</sup>

Joliet and Marquette, of course, were interested in the course of the Mississippi, and they inquired of their new Quapaw friends what they knew about the sea. Quapaw spokesmen replied that they were only a ten-day journey from it (a figure that Joliet later calculated to be about five days by canoe) but that they did not know the region because their enemies kept them from descending the river. They further explained that the group with guns that the French had met earlier (apparently referring to the Mosopeleas on the Ohio) were their enemies and were the ones barring their way to the sea. The Quapaws had knives, hatchets, and European beads, but they explained to the Frenchmen that they did not receive them from the south because of the difficulties descending the river. Instead, they received them from Indians to the east and from an Illinois village four days west of their towns. The Quapaws counseled Joliet and Marquette to not go any farther downstream because enemies with guns continuously patrolled the river; plus, there were Europeans on the seas at the mouth of the river. Joliet took this to mean the Spaniards of La Florida.<sup>35</sup>

Joliet and Marquette do not give much detail regarding their stay at Cappa; however, they noted some things that are important to our story here. For example, the Quapaws lived in longhouses, which would indicate their northeastern origins. The Frenchmen also found the Quapaws' language "exceedingly difficult," a surprising admission for such an accomplished linguist as Marquette. We now know that the Quapaw were Dhegiha

Siouan speakers, which also points to their distant origins. Finally, Joliet and Marquette noted that the Quapaw men dared not go hunting “wild cattle” (bison) because they were surrounded by enemies. They did, however, grow plenty of corn.<sup>36</sup>

Nine years later, the La Salle expedition also made stops at the Quapaw towns. About forty or fifty leagues after leaving Fort Prudhomme, La Salle’s canoes were descending the river in a heavy mist when they heard shouts coming from the west bank. The Chickasaw man with them told La Salle that the noise was coming from an Acansa (Arkansas) village there. La Salle quickly ordered his small fleet to the eastern bank and dug an entrenchment. Quapaw women and children fled the town, and Quapaw warriors in canoes crossed the river to within an arrow shot of the French. They then shot a warning arrow, but the French did not respond, indicating that they had come in peace. The Quapaw warriors withdrew. Both gestures allayed the initial fears and suspicions on both sides, and the headman of the town soon sent a delegation of six men in a canoe to present La Salle with the calumet. After smoking the pipe of peace, the French followed the Quapaw men to their town, which was Cappa, the same town that Joliet and Marquette had visited. The next day, the whole town turned out to dance the calumet. According to Tonti, the Quapaws then conducted the Frenchmen and their Indian companions to two other Quapaw towns, where the people likewise danced the calumet. The ceremonies cemented the friendly relations between the Quapaws and the French, a relationship that would endure throughout the French presence in the Mississippi Valley.<sup>37</sup>

The La Salle accounts also describe Quapaw longhouses, and Tonti remarked on their buffalo-skin clothing and the fact that they had peaches in abundance, as well as chickens. Peaches and chickens are not native to the South, but both could have diffused to the Mississippi River from either the east or west. Peaches, in fact, were introduced into both areas in the late sixteenth century. The Quapaws had told Joliet and Marquette that they had access to European goods through their Illinois trading partners, who most likely traded with Europeans to the east. However, the Quapaws also had strong connections with the Caddos, who lived just southwest of the Arkansas River and who kept up a lively trade with western Indians trading with the Spanish in the Rio Grande. On another visit in 1686, Tonti mentioned that some Quapaws gave him two Caddo women to take to Caddo country with him, also indicating close contacts between the two groups.<sup>38</sup> These Caddo groups in present-day Arkansas undoubtedly were the descen-

dants of some of the Caddo-speaking upland chiefdoms that Soto's army had encountered.

The Quapaw villages at the time of the La Salle expedition—Cappa, Tonginga, Torima, and Osotouy—occupied the former territory of Anlico and Aminoya and were just upstream from the former Guachoya. The next two groups the French visited, the Taensas and Natchez, retained something of their chiefly social structure, at least for a while, and scholars are fairly certain that the late seventeenth-century Natchez were descendants of the famous Quigualtam or one of its subordinate chiefdoms. The Quapaws, however, in no way resembled the grand, populous chiefdoms of Anlico, Aminoya, or Guachoya. Researchers are divided over the origins of the Quapaws. Some understand the Menard site, the probable locus of Anlico, to also represent the Quapaw village of Osotuoy, near which Tonti established a trading house in 1686. In other words, according to this scenario, the Quapaws were descendants of Anlico, and they remained in their Mississippian homelands, although clearly their social organization and cultural lives had been dramatically transformed from that of their Anlico ancestors.<sup>39</sup>

In another scenario, researchers present evidence that Anlico and the other chiefdoms along the Arkansas went into decline sometime after Soto, and that the Quapaws migrated to this valley sometime in the mid- to late seventeenth century as part of a large-scale exodus of Dhegiha Siouan peoples—the Quapaws, Osages, Omahas, Poncas, and Kansas—from the Ohio River, driven out by eastern Indian slaving (see Map 4). One piece of documentary evidence for this migration is that the Illinois and Miami Indians told Father Gravier in 1701 that they called the Ohio River the “Akansa” because the Akansas (Quapaws) “formerly dwelt on it.” Recently, archaeologists investigating the Wallace Bottom site propose that this site rather than the Menard site may represent Osotouy, and the Native artifact assemblage from here indicates a seventeenth-century migration into the area. This later scenario corroborates Quapaw oral traditions, which relate that they and the Osages migrated west together but split at the Mississippi River, with the Osages continuing up the Missouri and the Quapaws moving south. Once at the mouth of the Arkansas River, the Quapaws then forced out a local group, whom they specify were Tunicans.<sup>40</sup>

In this light, then, all of the groups that both Joliet and Marquette and the La Salle expedition encountered between the Ohio and Arkansas Rivers were immigrants. The Mosopeleas, Mitchigameas, and Quapaws may have migrated from distant locales such as the upper Ohio River valley, pushed



westward by Iroquois and perhaps other Indians who were engaged in a fierce intra-Indian struggle over access to the European trade. Although the full story of the origins of these three groups is still not certain, scholars have documented many other displacements that occurred during the years of the mid-seventeenth-century Beaver Wars of the northeast and upper Ohio Valley, including a massive movement of people from the present-day northeastern states into the Great Lakes area.<sup>41</sup>

Even before the Beaver Wars, eastern groups had been moving west. Recall that the Vacant Quarter, which ran from the Ohio Valley to the Mississippi River, had been sparsely populated since about 1400 C.E., and archaeologists also believe that much of central Illinois was also sparsely populated as early as 1400 C.E. Sometime before the arrival of the French (perhaps as early as the 1620s), the Illinois Indians moved into and occupied some of these vacant areas or, in some cases, pushed out groups of Sioux, Winnebagos, and Oneotas. The Illinois eventually settled along the upper Mississippi Valley, where they positioned themselves in a “strategic arc” from central Iowa to Arkansas to control the flow of trade between the Great Lakes and the central plains, a flow that fed into the northeastern trade system via the Hurons. This trade link was disrupted after the destruction of Huronia by the Iroquois in the 1640s, but by the 1660s it was resumed with other trading partners. By the time Joliet and Marquette journeyed down the Mississippi, the Illinois were well armed and well connected to New France and to Southern Indian groups. In all likelihood, they were already indirectly involved in the Indian slave trade and were arch enemies of the Iroquois. In time, they would travel as far as present-day northern Mississippi in their slave raiding. There, they came up against the Chickasaws. Later, when the Chickasaws became armed and themselves entered into slaving, they proved formidable opponents, and they and the Illinois would raid each other for decades.<sup>42</sup>

The spread of the calumet ceremony also indicates that the leading edge of the trade system disrupted Indian communities before Europeans set up trade establishments among them. The calumet ceremony originated among the Plains Indian groups, and calumet pipes dating to 1200 C.E. testify to the long tradition of the ceremony there. The ceremony likely began as an adoption ceremony associated with rituals mourning the deceased, but in time the ceremony became one wherein alliances were made and peace was established. Archaeologists believe that this peace-making function of the calumet was important among the plains groups, who relied on an intricate network of trade between pedestrian buffalo hunters and agriculturalists to

sustain themselves. The calumet served to ease tensions, relax rules, and generally let trade take place regardless of underlying animosities.<sup>43</sup>

What is interesting for our story is that Indians all along the central and lower Mississippi Valley greeted the French explorers with the calumet ceremony. Soto, on the other hand, was never greeted with a ceremony such as those described in the French documents, and archaeologists do not find calumet pipes from Mississippi Period sites. The conclusion is that the ceremony was not practiced in the Mississippian world but rather diffused into the South sometime after Soto and well before the French explorations of the late seventeenth century. La Salle carried a calumet with him explicitly for greeting rituals, and he used it all down the Mississippi River until he met the Quinipissas, who were on the lower reaches of the river and rejected his offer. Whether the Quinipissas rejected it because of their suspicions or because they were unfamiliar with the ceremony is not known. But seventeen years later, when Iberville canvassed the mouth of the Mississippi River, all of the groups there smoked the calumet, including the Quinipissas.<sup>44</sup>

Archaeologist Ian Brown, examining the timing of the introduction of catlinite elbow pipes typical of the calumets, believes that the ceremony entered the South via the Mississippi Valley in the early to mid-seventeenth century. He reasons that at that time, the whole of the Mississippi Valley was in turmoil, with many people being displaced or worse because of introduced diseases, eastern slaving, the migration of the Illinois into the valley, and the intense jockeying for position in the new trade system. Alliances were shaky; tensions were so taut that violence could erupt over the least infraction; and warfare was on the rise. Something was needed to quell these dark undercurrents and to reinstate some sort of balance, something to allow some modicum of normalcy—and especially the essential trade—to continue. The calumet ceremony served this purpose, and its quick spread throughout the Mississippi Valley and into the interior South attests to its positive function in a time of great uncertainty. By the end of the Mississippian shatter-zone era in the early eighteenth century, the practice had fallen into disuse.<sup>45</sup> By that time, even the calumet could not assuage the distrust, tensions, and fears unleashed by the Indian slave trade.

The strength of the Illinois presence on the upper reaches of the Mississippi River helps to explain the presence of the Mitchigamea villages on the central Mississippi and in northern Arkansas and the Illinois war captives (whom the French identified as slaves) in Cappa, and it also verifies the Quapaws' claim to Illinois trade partners. Although the Quapaws probably

received some Spanish goods via the Caddos, their connections with the Illinois would have given them access to the eastern trade. Apparently, however, the Quapaws had problems acquiring guns from both of their partners, which could help explain the Quapaws' fear of the rumored armed Indians patrolling the Mississippi River and their intense interest in opening a trade with the French.<sup>46</sup>

The Quapaws told Marquette that their Illinois trading partners were a four-day journey to the west. This town may have been at the Grigsby site in Randolph County in northeast Arkansas, which was occupied between 1670 and 1730 (see Maps 4 and 5). The stone arrow points from Grigsby are like those of the Illinois on the upper Mississippi, indicating that this town was more than likely settled by Illinois immigrants. In addition to stone tools and Indian ceramics, archaeologists also found several European trade items, such as brass tinklers, trade mirror fragments, an Indian-made glass pendant, blue glass beads, brass and copper scraps, iron knives, axes, awls and nails, gun parts, and lead balls. They conclude that this site represents the inland Mitchigamea town in northern Arkansas depicted on the Marquette map. And, much like their Illinois counterparts further north, these Mitchigamea Illinois acted as middlemen in the French trade, bringing it across the Mississippi well before direct European contact. Archaeologists also speculate that the Mitchigamea probably traded not only with the Quapaws but also with several other groups situated on the Arkansas River.<sup>47</sup>

When Marquette and Joliet arrived at Cappa, they must have asked their Quapaw guests about other nearby groups. The French explorers apparently did not visit these groups, but both left maps detailing the information they gathered. The maps indicate eight Indian groups living along the Arkansas River upstream from the Quapaws (Akansea on the maps). Scholars have not thoroughly deciphered these maps, except to say that Marquette and Joliet probably named some Wichita groups on the upper reaches of the Arkansas as well as two groups that figure in later historical accounts—the Tunica (“Tanik8a” [*sic*] or “Tanikoua”) and the Koroa (or “Akoroa”).<sup>48</sup> Interestingly, one name recorded by the Frenchmen, “Papikaha,” bears a close resemblance to Pacaha, and some have speculated that this town may represent the displaced remnants of Pacaha that Soto encountered north of Memphis.<sup>49</sup>

Apparently, the Quapaws had uneasy relations with their neighbors on the Arkansas River. Marquette remarked on the fact that the Quapaws were surrounded by enemies, so much so that they even feared venturing out to hunt. Recall that Quapaw oral tradition holds that when they arrived in the

Mississippi Valley, they pushed out the Tunicas. This apparently led to a lasting animosity between the two groups. As we will see, soon after 1673, some of the Tunicas and Koroas moved from the Arkansas River to the Mississippi River, which helps account for the Quapaws' later admission to La Salle that they also had enemies downstream—the Tunicas, Yazooos, and Koroas. The Quapaws also lumped the Chickasaws into these downstream enemies, but they refrained from molesting the Chickasaw man traveling with the La Salle party, perhaps to avoid offending the French.<sup>50</sup> Truly the Quapaws were surrounded by hostile groups, and this is why they courted the French. The Quapaws were in serious need of a friend.

The history of the Tunicas is something of a mystery. Scholars believe that many of the chiefdoms that Soto encountered in present-day northern Arkansas may have been Tunica-speaking, although exactly which ones remains in debate.<sup>51</sup> It is worth remembering here that not all speakers of a single language were necessarily grouped into a single polity; hence, not all of the sixteenth-century Tunica speakers in northern Arkansas were under one political umbrella. When Marquette and Joliet visited the Quapaws, some Tunica towns were on the Arkansas River. Nine years later, by 1682, some had moved to the mouth of the Yazoo (see Maps 4 and 5).<sup>52</sup> Also, in 1687 Henri Joutel and some of the survivors of the last La Salle expedition traveled overland from Texas to Cappa, and they encountered a few small Tunica towns on the Ouchita River. Joutel learned from his Indian guides that they were saltmakers. Scholars believe that these saltmakers were the descendants of the Cayas saltmakers, whom Soto encountered on the central portion of the Arkansas River near present-day Little Rock. The central town of the Cayas was called Tanico (see Maps 1, 4, and 5).<sup>53</sup>

Joliet and Marquette had turned back at Cappa, wisely deciding to heed the warning about the gun-toting Indians who were patrolling lower down on the Mississippi River or the Spaniards at the coast. Nine years later, no such warning was issued to the La Salle expedition, or at least none was recorded, and the expedition continued downstream, led by two Quapaw guides. The expedition traveled for four days without encountering anyone. Upon reaching the split in the river that once marked the boundary between Guachoya and Quigualtam in the sixteenth century, Nicolas de la Salle, one of the *engagés* with La Salle (no relation), reported that their Quapaw guides wanted to go down the eastern channel and take advantage of the expedition's strength to make a strike against the Tunicas. Tonti, on the other hand, reported that the Chickasaws lived along the eastern branch. Both reports

are correct. By this time, some Tunica towns had moved to the mouth of the Yazoo, and the Chickasaws were now living at the headwaters of the Yazoo basin, about 150 miles from the Mississippi River. The expedition took the main channel and avoided both. No one mentioned a polity or people named Guachoya.<sup>54</sup>

The stretch of the Mississippi River from the Arkansas River to present-day Natchez, Mississippi, encompasses the lower Yazoo River basin and the Natchez Bluffs, areas that have both received a fair amount of archaeological work. Certainly, one of the most spectacular historical moments for the area was between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, when the local Coles Creek culture fused with Mississippian influences emanating from the north to produce what archaeologists call the Plaquemine culture. Plaquemine came to extend from the Yazoo basin to near the mouth of the Mississippi River and encompassed much of present-day western Mississippi and eastern Louisiana. This is the time we see the emergence of several grand chiefdoms, represented today by archaeological sites such as the Lake George and Winterville sites in the Yazoo basin and the Windsor and Anna sites in the Natchez Bluffs, all of which were on the Mississippi River. Around 1500 C.E., the Yazoo basin became fully Mississippian, but the Natchez Bluffs region remained Plaquemine. The size of mound centers in the Yazoo basin declined at this time, replaced by small centers located away from the Mississippi River and toward the Yazoo River drainage. The one exception was the Glass site, a large Mississippian center located on the Mississippi River. A substantial buffer zone stretched south from the Glass site to the area of present-day Natchez. The Glass site is one of the contenders for the main town of Quigualtam, and the diminishment of former mound centers in the Yazoo basin may indicate the empire building of this ambitious mico. In the Natchez Bluffs, the large mound centers were abandoned or diminished by 1500 C.E., but another magnificent center arose at the Emerald site. Although it is not directly on the river, the Emerald site is also a candidate for the central town of Quigualtam; it could also have been the central town of the polity abutting Quigualtam's southern border and perhaps subordinate to it at the time of Soto.<sup>55</sup>

Sometime after 1550, all of these chiefdoms began to decline. In the Yazoo basin, there was a dramatic decrease in population, although whether this decrease was the result of an increased number of deaths from disease and warfare, emigration out of the basin, or both, is not known. This decrease left much of the basin open to immigration, and throughout the Historic

Period, various groups moved into and out of the Yazoo basin. Archaeologically, the only known sites from this period are situated at or near the mouth of the Yazoo, and a few small sites exist along the Natchez Trace. Only one small mound site continued to be occupied into the seventeenth century (the Haynes Bluff site, which is just up from the mouth of the Yazoo), but the people had quit building mounds and, as later French documents indicate, the use of the extant mounds was also in decline. Some of the Historic Period Yazoo basin groups—such as the Yazoos and Chakchiumas, who were near present-day Greenwood, Mississippi, in the late seventeenth century—may have been the direct descendants of Yazoo basin chiefdoms, while others—such as the Tunicas, Koroas, and Ofos (or Ofogoula, perhaps another name for the Mosopelea)—were most likely recent immigrants (see Maps 4 and 5).<sup>56</sup>

The La Salle expedition traveled unmolested through former Quigualtam territory and did not go to the Yazoo River. In fact, the only people mentioned in any of the French accounts were the group of Tunicas living near the mouth of the Yazoo. However, maps later drafted from reports of the La Salle expedition depict several other Tunican-speaking groups around the mouth of the Yazoo. Also, a single town of Koroas, along with a Yazoo and a Koroa town (labeled as “Ikouera”) is shown opposite the mouth of the Yazoo, but, as we will see, the main population of Koroas was to the south, near the Natchez (see Map 5). The Tioux occupied two villages on the Yazoo above the Tunicas. Later reports indicate that the Grigras, Ibitoupas, Taposas, and Onspees also were in residence on the Yazoo, although whether or not these groups had Mississippian roots or were newcomers to the Yazoo basin is not known. At some point in the seventeenth century, many of these groups drew their towns closer together, and some actually took up residence together. The Ibitoupas, Taposas, and Chakchiumas, whom scholars suggest may have been closely affiliated, would eventually join their towns on the upper Yazoo into a single political unit and control a narrow swath of territory across north Mississippi that constituted a buffer zone between the Choctaws and Chickasaws. In 1700 thirty Yazoo families joined the Tunicas after the missionary Antoine Davion established a mission there.<sup>57</sup> Population figures for the Yazoo basin groups are extremely sketchy, but scholars estimate that they numbered about 3,500 people in total around 1700.<sup>58</sup>

In the Natchez Bluffs, there was a reduction of the population after the Soto entrada, and the Emerald site was abandoned; but the chiefdom way of life continued there, as is well documented in the later French records. These

were the Natchez, and their central town was the modest Fatherland site in present-day Natchez, Mississippi (see Map 5). The Natchez polity consisted of several districts that encompassed much of the Natchez Bluffs area, and they were also taking in immigrant populations at this time.<sup>59</sup> Another group that La Salle's expedition encountered on the western side of the river across from the Yazoo Bluffs also retained much about their chiefdom political order—this was the Taensas.

After passing the Yazoo basin towns, La Salle's party traveled another two days before encountering any more Mississippi River Indians. At that time, the party camped in a cove for the night, near which was an oxbow lake. Their Quapaw guides informed the Frenchmen that the Taensas lived on this lake and that they were allies with them. The Taensas, too, are something of a mystery, but scholars place their towns on the western side of Lake St. Joseph in Taensa Parish, Louisiana, and believe they spoke a variant of the Natchez language (see Map 5). Like other Plaquemine cultures such as the Natchez, they appear to have stayed in their Mississippian homeland and continued functioning as a chiefdom. In the late seventeenth century, they lived in eight villages around the lake, with a total of about 1,600 inhabitants.<sup>60</sup>

La Salle sent Tonti, along with two other Frenchmen and the two Quapaw guides, to make contact with the Taensas, and the expedition stayed there for three days. The La Salle reports are essentially the only detailed information we have on this group, and a few decades after La Salle's visit they left this region for the Gulf coast and disappear from the historical record. Tonti's description of his meeting with the Taensas indicates that they retained something of their chiefdom political order. Although he does not describe a mound, the *mico's* house clearly impressed the lieutenant. Tonti estimated it to be forty feet square and twelve to fifteen feet high, with two-foot-thick clay walls. The roof was dome shaped and covered with cane mats, which were so tightly woven as to be waterproof. The *mico* was seated on a couch, served by slaves, flanked by three of his wives, and surrounded by sixty or so elderly men clothed in "great white cloaks" woven out of the bark of the mulberry tree. A fire of river cane burned in the center of the house, and shields of yellow copper hung from walls adorned with various paintings. The elderly men apparently were councillors and headmen from the eight towns under the *mico's* authority that made up the polity of Taensa. Tonti's impression was that this chief was very much in charge and that the people showed him much deference and respect. Tonti was so surprised and impressed by such regality that he compared Taensa to European nations ("*les gens policez*").<sup>61</sup>

In his memoir, written several years after the visit and after two more trips down the Mississippi, Tonti elaborated on Taensa. In particular, Tonti told about retainer burials in which, upon the mico's death, the people sacrificed his youngest wife, his house steward (*maitre d'hotel*), and 100 men "to accompany him into the other world." He noted that they worshipped the sun, and he wrote about a temple opposite the mico's house. He described the temple as a kind of altar, with three eagles on top of it facing the rising sun. The whole was enclosed in "a kind of redoubt" with wooden watchtowers. All along the walls, fixed onto spikes, were the heads of their enemies slain in war. At the entrance to the temple was a great shell that had been placed on a block of wood, around which the hair of their slain enemies was plaited as thick as an arm and about twenty fathoms (120 feet) long. Inside the temple stood a single altar, at the base of which burned a perpetual fire that was tended by two elderly priests. Tonti must have entered this temple, because he relates that the priests showed him a small cane cabinet in the wall but refused to open it for him, explaining that "their God was there." Tonti later found out that they kept their pearls, European goods, and other treasures there; however, he never saw inside the cabinet. Every month, all the people brought offerings of food to the temple, which the priests then doled out to their own kinspeople.<sup>62</sup> These snippets from the La Salle documents strongly suggest that the Taensas, like the Natchez across the river, retained something of their hierarchical political order. Furthermore, Tonti and Nicolas de la Salle point out that these customs were shared by other groups downriver, undoubtedly referring to the Natchez, who were a well-documented, functioning chiefdom into the eighteenth century—although how closely they resembled Mississippian chiefdoms is uncertain.<sup>63</sup>

After exchanging gifts and pledges of friendship with Tonti, the mico of Taensa sent La Salle's party twenty canoes of provisions, including maize, dried fruit, salt, and some dried fruit cut-outs—which one chronicler mentioned as resembling French gingerbread men but which were also in the shape of bison, deer, alligators, and turkeys. When asked about the sea, Taensa spokesmen replied that one must travel west to reach it, and that they knew nothing about the environs downstream since they never went there because of their enemies. According to Nicolas de la Salle, "They also made it understood that there were vicious tribes there who would eat the Frenchmen." At hearing this, four of the Loup Indians refused to travel farther, and the two Quapaw guides returned home.<sup>64</sup>

Before departing, Tonti and the mico of Taensa again exchanged gifts.



Tonti gave him a bracelet and asked for and received the sixteen pearls that the mico wore as earrings. Tonti also purchased a young Koroa slave for two knives and a small kettle. One of the Loup men traded a kettle for another Koroa slave from a town headman. The Taensas were at war with the Koroas, and the slaves were Koroa war captives. Apparently, it was the Koroas and Natchez to whom the Taensas referred when they talked about their cannibal enemies downstream.<sup>65</sup>

The second day after departing Taensa, the expedition came upon a large group of men fishing at the river's edge. Initially, the Indian men issued war cries and brandished their bows and arrows and war clubs, and the Frenchmen retreated to the other bank. La Salle reluctantly gave Tonti permission to approach them with the calumet peace pipe. At this, the Indians joined their hands as a sign of friendship, and Tonti instructed his men to do the same—although Tonti himself could not make the gesture since he had lost one of his hands in battle. The Indians also rubbed their hands over Tonti's body, another signifier of peace. The Indians then welcomed the expedition to their shore, and the remainder of the group crossed the river. Using sign language, the Frenchmen and their Indian companions learned that this was a group of Natchez.<sup>66</sup>

Leaving Tonti and the others at the river, La Salle accepted the Natchez's offer to escort him to their town, which was three leagues from the river. The Fatherland site, in present-day Natchez, Mississippi, was the Natchez central town, and this is probably where La Salle went. Unfortunately, neither La Salle nor any of the seven men who went with him left any accounts of this brief stay with the Natchez. When the commander and his men had not returned after a few days, Tonti sent a contingent of eight men to look for them. They all returned unharmed the same day. Apparently, La Salle was delayed because the mico of the Natchez had called his subordinate micos from Koroa to a meeting with La Salle. Upon leaving, the mico of Koroa and ten Koroa men went with La Salle to their encampment, and the next day, the Koroas guided them to the Koroa towns.<sup>67</sup>

The La Salle accounts place five Koroa towns on the eastern side of the Mississippi south of the Natchez towns. The Koroas treated the French and their Indian companions quite well, and several witnesses remarked that the Koroas resembled the Taensas, meaning that they probably retained something of their chiefdom political structure. There were a few missteps while there, though, as when Nicolas de la Salle wrote that he “bartered” a “worthless boxwood comb” for fourteen pearls. According to the report of Minet,

the exchange was forced, in that the young man took the pearls from a young girl and then gave her his comb. She screamed and he fled, and the mico later complained to La Salle, but no one confessed that Nicolas de la Salle had done the deed. Some Koroas later surreptitiously took back the pearls from Nicolas. Tonti's young Koroa slave also disappeared when his mother rescued him one night. The Loup's Koroa slave, however, was not so lucky; he would eventually return to the Great Lakes with his Loup owner. The elderly Chickasaw man who had accompanied the expedition from present-day Memphis chose to stay in Koroa rather than continue downstream.<sup>68</sup>

Little is known about the Koroas, except to say that by the late seventeenth century, they appear to have been dispersed into several villages throughout present-day southeastern Arkansas, northeastern Louisiana, and western Mississippi. The Koroas may have been the descendants of the chiefdom of Coligua that Soto encountered on the Black River near present-day Batesville in northeastern Arkansas. "Coligua" appears to have been Soto's non-Tunica-speaking interpreter's way of saying "Koroa." Recall that the Marquette and Joliet maps place the "Akoroa" on the lower Arkansas, upstream from the Quapaws (see Maps 1, 2, and 3). This may indicate that they had moved from the Black to the Arkansas River. The next reports of them, which are nine years later from the La Salle expedition, place a single village across the mouth of the Yazoo and five towns south of the Natchez (see Maps 4 and 5). Later reports indicate Koroa towns in Louisiana, southern Arkansas, and along the Yazoo River as well. All we can conclude for now is that the Koroa chiefdom of northeast Arkansas must have broken apart sometime after the Soto encounter and, over the next several decades, the people dispersed into several towns south of there, with some joining the Natchez. They may also have been moving their towns frequently throughout the area.<sup>69</sup>

After leaving the lower Koroa towns, the La Salle expedition once again did not encounter any Indians for several days. On the fourth day, about forty leagues from the Koroa towns, the Loup's Koroa slave informed the French that they were near the Houmas, but the party did not seek them out. The expedition paddled down the Mississippi for several days without seeing a single Mississippi River Indian, although Tonti related that they missed "ten nations" by accidentally taking a lateral river channel for several leagues. Seven days from the Houma towns, the expedition came upon nine canoes tied to the western riverbank; they waited an hour, hoping for the Indians' return, and then continued downstream. After traveling another league, the party surprised some Indians fishing on the western bank; the Natives fled at

the sight of the French. Nicolas de la Salle reported that they recovered one of the baskets the fleeing group had left behind, and in it they found a fish, a man's foot, and a child's hand—"all smoke dried." They soon heard war drums and war cries in the distance, and after two reconnaissance groups sent to assess the situation were met with a hail of arrows, La Salle decided to move on. They later realized that the hostile group were the Quinipissas.<sup>70</sup>

The Quinipissas were living on the western bank of the river, about half-way between the mouth of the Red River and the mouth of the Mississippi River (see Map 5).<sup>71</sup> Little is known about the Quinipissas, who fade from the documentary record around 1700 after they suffer from a devastating disease episode and an attack by the Bayogoulas. Generally speaking, these Indian groups on the lower reaches of the Mississippi River to the Florida panhandle, although on the margins of the Mississippian world, partook fully in chiefdom life. Those living near the mouth of the Mississippi River were within the southernmost reaches of the Plaquemine tradition at the time of European contact. From the Pearl River, just east of the mouth of the Mississippi to the Florida panhandle, was a different cultural tradition that archaeologists call the Pensacola culture (see Map 1). Recall that when the survivors of the Soto expedition encountered people near the Gulf coast, they remarked that they mostly were fisherfolk. In fact, archaeology attests that the Pensacola people and the Plaquemine people near the coast relied both on agriculture and marine resources and were organized into simple chiefdoms. The exception was the impressive Bottle Creek site, which was located in the Mobile-Tensaw Delta (about eighteen miles from the coast in present-day Alabama) and inhabited from 1250 to 1550 C.E. Without a doubt, some of the earliest Spanish explorers, such as Tristán de Luna, encountered Pensacola people around Mobile Bay and coastal Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi. Though archaeological research has gone far in reconstructing much about Pensacola precontact life in present-day Alabama, little is known about the Indian groups from the Mississippi Sound to the mouth of the Mississippi River.<sup>72</sup> Archaeologists are beginning to understand that the Pensacola ceramics derived from Moundville ceramics. Archaeologists interpret this evidence to mean that around 1100 C.E., a population of Moundvillians settled along the coast, most likely to gain control over the important salt trade from the local coastal people. By around 1300 C.E., the Pensacola people had spread from the Gulf coast of present-day Florida to as far north as the middle Alabama River valley, east to Choctawhatchee Bay and the Conecuh drainage, and west to the Mississippi Sound.<sup>73</sup> This is not to say

that the Pensacola people constituted a single, united political entity. The Pensacola culture, in fact, likely represents several different polities through time.

After the first few decades of contact, little is known about the lives of the Gulf coast people, except to say that some of the small mound centers continued to be occupied and probably served as nodes of aggregation in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries for immigrant populations dispersing from the interior toward the Gulf coast. However, the presence of urn burials leads archaeologists to speculate that the chiefly order was in decline by the late sixteenth century, and the people abandoned the mound centers and dispersed into small farming and fishing villages along the coastal waterways. The Quinipissas and Houmas may have experienced a similar trajectory. The coastal Indians and the refugees that began to settle around them would later come to be known by the French as the *petites nations*.<sup>74</sup>

About a league downstream from the Quinipissa town, the La Salle expedition came upon a macabre scene. In the words of Minet: "First we noticed something like many people, when we had landed, we saw that the crowds were crows, eagles, and other beasts that seek out carrion. We knew by this that the village had been destroyed. On approaching, we saw only carcasses of men and women, ruined huts, and others full of dead bodies, a coating of blood on the ground, and all their canoes broken and cut up with axes."<sup>75</sup> This was the Colapissa town of Tangibao (see Map 5). Taking heed, the La Salle expedition did not tarry in Tangibao and continued downstream. At one point, as supplies were dwindling, the party espied a canoe with three Indians in it. The Indians, upon seeing the French, landed the canoe, abandoned it, and fled through the woods. Some of the French inspected the canoe and found some smoked alligator and another piece of meat; they tasted the latter and realized, to their dismay, that it was human flesh from the ribs of a man. Nicolas de la Salle and Minet both remarked that it was better than alligator meat, and Father Membré actually described the taste as "very good and delicate."<sup>76</sup>

Soon after, the expedition came upon the mouth of the Mississippi River. After exploring the channels and taking possession in the name of the king of France, the expedition turned around and began to retrace their route back to French Canada.<sup>77</sup> As they made their way upriver, the party stopped again at the town of Tangibao. This time, they scouted the environs and found four women. The French interrogated the women about the destroyed town, and the women informed La Salle that the destruction was done by the Houmas

and Okelousas, and that the survivors had fled to the Quinipissas.<sup>78</sup> We know virtually nothing about the Okelousas apart from this reference to them as the perpetrators of the Tangibao massacre and the fact that their towns are depicted on some maps derived from the La Salle expedition. These maps show them to be on the north end of Bayou Lafourche (see Map 5).<sup>79</sup> The Houmas, who lived opposite the mouth of the Red River in 1680, were an important group throughout the French colonial years, although little is known about their precontact lives (see Map 5).

While at Tangibao, a nearby group of Quinipissas, who had earlier shown much hostility to the explorers, launched a surprise attack against them. Minet described an event during the battle in which a Quinipissa warrior mistook a gun barrel for a tree limb, grabbed it, and accidentally shot two or three of his companions. Tonti, too, noted that French firearms gave the explorers an advantage in the battle. In 1699 a Quinipissa headman, repeating an oral history of this battle, told Ensign Sauvole at Fort Maurepas that the Quinipissa warriors “retreated in disorder” once they realized the effects of the French firearms.<sup>80</sup> These reports, of course, would indicate that, despite the Quapaws’ fear of armed patrols, guns had not filtered down the Mississippi River, and that the European ships spied along the coastline were not dealing in arms.

Escaping from the Quinipissas, the expedition continued north to the Koroa towns that had been so welcoming only a few weeks earlier. After seven days of paddling against the currents of the Mississippi River, the explorers were fatigued and in need of provisions. The Koroas welcomed them with a huge feast in the square. The French soon noticed that only a few dozen men and a few women were at the feast with them, which to their trained frontier eyes portended trouble. Just as this realization dawned on them, they found themselves suddenly “surrounded by about 2,000 men daubed with red and black, tomahawks in hand and bows and arrows.” The Koroa slave who was still with his Loup owner had relayed the news about the Quinipissa battle, and the Koroas had gathered to defend their Quinipissa allies. The mico of Koroa, however, staved off the attack, although Tonti believed it was because the Koroa warriors were afraid of the French firearms. In either case, although the situation was menacing, the explorers still partook of the feast offered—but with “gun in hand.” The mico urged La Salle to go to the Natchez towns the next morning, where he would receive provisions for his trip.<sup>81</sup>

Although none of the chroniclers mention it, the French and the Loup

must have suspected ill intentions on the part of the Natchez as well, since they would have known that the Natchez were strong allies of the Koroas and, hence, the Quinipissas. The expedition continued upstream to the landing place where they had first met Natchez Indians; however, they saw no one and feared an ambush. Upon hearing a war cry from the bank, the expedition hurriedly paddled back into the river, hoping for a better reception from the Taensas. En route to Taensa, the expedition came upon a Taensa man who had escaped the Koroas, and he accompanied the party to the Taensa central town to meet the mico. The guide later reported to the mico of Taensa about the French and Loup hostilities with the Natchez, who were enemies of the Taensas. The mico immediately “proclaimed his joy” over the news that the explorers had slain some of their enemies. On the score of provisions, the mico did not disappoint, and he ordered his people to load the Frenchmen’s canoes with supplies.<sup>82</sup>

While at Taensa, La Salle met a Mosopelea headman, who explained to La Salle that he and “five lodges” had taken refuge with the Taensas after their town had been defeated. According to Tonti, La Salle then returned a Mosopelea slave he had brought with him on the expedition to the man and gave him a pistol as well. Later, the mico of Taensa met with La Salle, and after an elaborate exchange of gifts (La Salle gave a dressing gown and the mico gave a cotton robe), the mico prayed to the Sun for their safe voyage and threw tobacco into the river as an offering for peaceful waters. The party then continued to the Quapaws (Arkansas).<sup>83</sup> Although we may never know the answer, the presence of the Mosopeleas at Taensa raises the question of whether this was the group of Mosopeleas with firearms and other European goods that Marquette and Joliet had encountered just south of the Ohio River in 1673. Since it is likely that the Mosopeleas originated somewhere on the upper Ohio River, their presence at Taensa—as well as the presence of Ofos on the Yazoo (who were probably Mosopeleas)—testifies to a wide and distant seventeenth-century dispersal, as people fled Iroquois and other raiders and moved down the Ohio Valley (see Map 4).

After a short stay with the Quapaws, La Salle, Tonti, and the others soon made their way back to French Canada, where La Salle immediately petitioned to return to the Gulf of Mexico and settle a French colony. A few years later, in 1685, while at Fort Michilimackinac in present-day Michigan, Tonti heard that La Salle and nearly 300 French colonists were in the Gulf of Mexico searching for the mouth of the Mississippi River, where they intended to plant their colony. He immediately determined to again travel down the

Mississippi to meet La Salle. Tonti relates this return trip in his memoir, but he does not elaborate on many of the details. The small group took the same route to the mouth of the Mississippi, where they saw no sign of La Salle. On their return, they once again stopped by the Quinipissa town, where the headmen expressed sorrow at their warlike attitude two years before and pledged friendship from here on out. Tonti left a note for La Salle there; fourteen years later, the Bayougoulas would give the note to the first Louisiana governor, Pierre le Moyne d'Iberville, when he was exploring the coast. Tonti also made a stop at the Houmas this time, but he left no written descriptions of his visit except to declare that the Houmas were the "bravest savages of the river." The party also stayed at the Quapaw towns, and ten of the Frenchmen with Tonti requested permission to stay and build a trading fort there. Tonti had acquired a seignory for just such an enterprise from La Salle previously, and he granted the request of his men. He left ten French *coureurs de bois* there, including Jean Couture, who would later gain notoriety for his defection to the English. Tonti then continued to Montreal.<sup>84</sup>

Unbeknownst to Tonti at the time, La Salle was already marooned on the coast of Texas. La Salle's ships overshot the mouth of the Mississippi River, and the fleet went ashore in east Texas at Matagorda Bay, where they established Fort St. Louis. In 1687, after the loss of their last remaining ship and much hardship, La Salle decided to lead a small contingent overland to French Illinois. En route, some of the party mutinied, and one of the mutineers assassinated La Salle; some in the party continued overland. Henri Joutel, who was a supporter and friend of La Salle, later wrote a journal describing this trek. After La Salle's death, Joutel's group moved northeast through northeastern Texas and crossed the Red River into Caddo country. They made their way to the Quapaw towns and eventually back to French Canada.

In 1687, while at Fort St. Louis near present-day Starved Rock, Illinois, Tonti encountered Joutel's party, but M. Chevalier lied to the lieutenant that La Salle was in good health on the Gulf of Mexico. A while later, Jean Couture and two Quapaws made the trek from Osotouy to Fort St. Louis, and they informed Tonti of the commander's death. Chevalier apologized for the prevarication, explaining that he was afraid Tonti would deny him the provisions he needed to return home if he knew of La Salle's fate. He also relayed to Tonti that when the group had passed through the Caddo towns, the Cadadoquis had proposed a joint attack against the western Spanish. The Cadadoquis (one of the groups in Kadohadocho) explained that all they

needed were a few musketeers to launch a successful attack, and that the only booty they would take would be the women and children, who they would keep as slaves. A few days later, Tonti heard that France and Spain were at war, and he jumped at the chance to enlist the Caddos in the proposed assault. He also hoped to find the remainder of the La Salle colony. This occasioned Tonti's third trip down the Mississippi in 1687.<sup>85</sup>

Tonti's third expedition contains some details on the Caddo but little on the other Indians on the Mississippi River. The expedition consisted of five Frenchmen, one Shawnee, and two Indian slaves. They reached the Quapaw town of Cappa on January 16, 1687, spent several days in all four of the towns, and continued downstream. It was at this time that the Quapaws gave Tonti the Caddo women, although it is unclear if these women were slaves taken in war or were there for other reasons. While camping on the river en route to the Taensas, the Shawnee, while out hunting, was attacked and slightly injured by three Houmas, one of whom he killed. Other troubles were brewing on the river. Tonti had sent two Frenchmen ahead to the Koroas, only to hear rumors later that the Natchez had killed his scouts. Instead of engaging these Indians, Tonti enlisted some Taensa guides to make the journey west to the Caddos. The group left their canoes and marched overland to the Caddo towns.<sup>86</sup>

When Tonti traversed into Caddo country, he entered a landscape somewhat different from that which Moscoso had seen in 1543. At the time of the Soto entrada, Caddo country can be said to have consisted of the Caddo-speaking peoples of southwestern Arkansas, much of Louisiana, and east Texas. Despite the sharing of a language, however, not all Caddo speakers were united into a single polity at the time. Rather, there appear to have been several polities in the area, centered on separate river-valley segments. Moscoso, when searching for an overland route to New Spain, passed through several of these—Chaguata on the upper Ouichita River; Aguacay on the Little Missouri River; Amaye between the Little and Red Rivers; Naguatex on the Big Bend of the Red River; Nisohone on the Sulfur River; Lacane and Nandacao, both probably in the Big Cypress Creek basin; Aays on the Sabine; Soacatino on the upper reaches of the Neches River; Guasco on the southern segment of the Neches River; and Naquiscoza and Nazacohoz, both in the Angelina basin (see Map 1). These polities were a variation of Mississippian chiefdoms wherein the mound centers served solely as religious centers, and the population lived in scattered farming towns and hamlets. Of these, only Guasco and Naguatex impressed the Spaniards as being lands of plenty.



Archaeology tells us, however, that the Caddo played an important role in the Mississippian trade system, serving as a conduit for goods and resources from east to west and west to east. They also produced and traded in salt and animal skins.<sup>87</sup>

Although the details await further scrutiny, it appears that between 1543 and 1687, the Caddo settlements, responding to disease, Apache raiding, and other disruptions emanating from New Spain, contracted to smaller segments of particular river valleys. And, other than the town of Cahinnio, the upper Ouichita and Little Missouri River valleys were abandoned altogether (see Maps 2 and 3). The towns along the upper Red River contracted southward, congregating in the vicinity of the sixteenth-century province of Naguatex in the Big Bend, where they became known as the Kadohadocho (see Map 3). The Caddo polities along the upper Neches River and Angelina River in east Texas congregated into the Hasinai (or Cenis) on the upper reaches of the basins in east Texas. Other communities on the Red River formed a loose aggregate that later came to be known as the Natchitoches. A small group of towns maintained their independence: the Yatasi, Adais, and Hais (Eyeish) on the middle Red River. To the east of these Caddo lived the Ouichitas (known by the Spanish as the Panis), who were a Caddo-speaking group loosely affiliated with the Hasinai and Kadohadocho groups. As one scholar observes about the Caddo at this time, the population coalescences and confederations that emerged in the seventeenth century were “not a simple bonding process among surviving Caddo groups, but one of fragmentation and changing inter-group alliances.” Despite the political reorganizations that occurred after the Soto entrada, the Caddo groups, like the Taensas, Koroas, and Natchez, also retained some vestiges of their chiefdom religious and political hierarchy and would continue to do so into the eighteenth century.<sup>88</sup>

During the seventeenth century, the Caddo-speaking polities expanded their trade with the Plains Indians to include Spanish items, which were deriving out of Santa Fe and circulating widely throughout the west in down-the-line exchanges with Indian traders. The Caddos became especially involved in the horse trade. Tonti estimated that the Kadohadochos possessed about thirty horses, and that at Natchitoches, “there is not a cabin which has not four or five.” He also wrote that the Natchitoches acquired them by raiding the Spaniards and western Indians. Other items filtered into Caddo country, such as European-made beads, knives, hatchets, and swords. Many of these items had become part of daily life, as evidenced by an encounter

that Joutel had en route to the Quapaw towns. Joutel's party encountered a young Indian man sent by the elders of Cahinnio (Cahaynohoua) to fetch the Frenchmen. The young man carried a Spanish sword adorned with colorful feathers and two small bells. The young man's appearance startled Joutel, but he observed that "it pleased him (the young man) to make the bells ring."<sup>89</sup>

Still, the Caddos and others did not obtain guns until around 1700, after the French settled French Louisiana and established trading relationships with the Natchitoches. As Joutel traveled through western Caddo country in 1687, the Indians he encountered were curious about French weaponry and requested on several occasions that Joutel make them a gift of his guns. Joutel could only promise that if they were friends with the French, they could obtain all the guns they wanted. In one episode, Joutel—with a great deal of luck, as he admitted—managed to kill a buffalo with his musket. His Indian guide "looked at the holes where the bullet had hit them and he marveled at the shattered bone." Joutel continued that, "Overcome, he came to me and threw down his bow, telling me I must give him a musket because his bow was worth nothing and that he had too much trouble running when he killed bison." Joutel declined to give the man his gun. In another incident, while Joutel was demonstrating his gun to some Cahinnio men, his shot scattered and hit one of the Indian men in the ear. The man was quite distressed because, as Joutel noted, "they were not accustomed to these sorts of accidents." In this case, the wound was only slight, and the man recovered within a few hours.<sup>90</sup>

As it turned out, Tonti did not march overland to attack the Spanish, nor did he find La Salle's colony, but he learned that all of La Salle's colonists had been killed. We now know that the local Karankawa Indians killed them, except for five young boys and a young girl, whom they took as captives. Meanwhile, some of Tonti's men deserted him, opting to remain in Caddo country, and the remainder of the expedition began a worrisome trek through present-day southern Louisiana to the Mississippi River. They eventually made their way to a Koroa town, where they were well received, and the two Frenchmen who had been rumored to have been killed by the Natchez were there. Apparently, the Koroas and Natchez were not holding on to old animosities and now sought friendship with the French.<sup>91</sup> Tonti and his party eventually returned to French Canada, but the lieutenant would travel down the Mississippi once again and, after French Louisiana was established, move to Louisiana, where he became an indispensable aid to the French governor, Pierre le Moyne d'Iberville.

How can we account for the vast differences between what Soto saw and what Marquette, Joliet, La Salle, Tonti, and the other French saw on the Mississippi River? The collapse of the central Mississippi Valley and the diminishment of those in the lower valley is one of the greatest historic puzzles of the early colonial South. We still do not have a good sense of why the central valley chiefdoms fell or where their people went. As we have seen, it looks as though some of the survivors migrated west up the Arkansas River. Some may have moved to the Red River, where they joined local Caddoan-speaking chiefdoms. Some moved south to the confluence of the Yazoo River, while others moved farther downstream to join Natchez and Taensa. Those that did not join existing chiefly orders did not reconstitute their chiefdoms; they either joined other small, nonchiefdom groups or maintained some degree of social and political independence.<sup>92</sup>

From the Soto records and the archaeological evidence, we know that the central Mississippi Valley chiefdoms were in a state of shifting alliances. Soto was directly involved in the political and military jockeying between Guachoya and Anlico and between Casqui and Pacaha, and it is likely that his presence upset the balance of power in the region. Still, it is puzzling as to why these power struggles could bring down all of these impressive chiefdoms. Certainly, Old World diseases would have contributed to any instabilities brought by Soto, but one must also consider the indirect effects of the Atlantic slave and fur trade and the shock waves emanating from east to west. The migration of the Illinois to the upper Mississippi surely affected those downstream, and the migration of refugees out of the Atlantic seaboard also had repercussions for those living on the Mississippi River—such as the contest that perhaps occurred between the Quapaws and Tunicas. So, in considering the postcontact history of this region, one must examine the effects of shock waves rippling throughout the Mississippi River valley, posing challenges and opportunities to many Indian groups far from the center of trade activity on the Atlantic coast.

## CHAPTER 6

### *Western Expansion of the Shatter Zone, ca. 1680–1700*

At the time of the Soto entrada, Chicaza had little intercourse with people on the Mississippi River. Perhaps as early as 1650, however, the Chickasaws entered into the new European trade system; by 1690 they had become primary slave raiders in the region; and by 1702 they controlled a western axis of trade that spanned from the Tombigbee River into Louisiana, unleashing even more turmoil in an area already reeling from eastern shock waves. The Chickasaw experience reflects the rapid expansion of the Indian slave system and Atlantic trade from the eastern seaboard to beyond the Mississippi River and the entanglement of numerous Indian polities in it. It also reflects the abilities of at least one Native group, the Chickasaws, to take advantage of the new trade by becoming militarized Indian slavers.

There is no good documentary evidence for Europeans in the central and lower Mississippi Valley and the lower South before the 1673 Joliet and Marquette voyage. However, it is possible that the Chickasaws and others in the lower South first became engaged in the commercial slave and fur trade through the *coureurs-de-bois* (or *voyageurs*). The *coureurs de bois* (which translates literally as “woods runners,” but which is commonly translated as “adventurers” or “trappers”) were independent Canadian traders who were scattered throughout the Midwest and mid-South, usually living in Indian villages, where they conducted a trade not only in skins but also in slaves. These men worked through French trading houses in Quebec City and Montreal and frontier outposts such as the Quapaw trading post on the Arkansas River and Kaskaskia in present-day southwestern Illinois.<sup>1</sup> The full scope of their numbers and influence in the Midwest and mid-South at this time is

not well known. The *coureurs de bois* certainly could have provided Indian groups with European-manufactured items, if only on a small scale; and, although they are historically known as fur traders, the documents clearly indicate that they also traded in slaves.<sup>2</sup>

Although we know very little about his life, one of the most famous *coureurs de bois* of the South was Jean Couture, Tonti's agent at his Quapaw trading house. Recall that at the time of the La Salle expedition, the Quapaws wanted to open a trade with Europeans because they were surrounded by enemies. They readily agreed to Tonti's proposal, and Couture, along with several other *coureurs de bois*, opened a trading house at the Quapaw town of Ostouy in 1686. By the time Joutel arrived there a year later, four of the Frenchmen had returned to Canada, leaving Couture and another Frenchman, only known to us as Delaunay, keeping the trade house. The two Frenchmen had overseen the beginnings of a vigorous trade, as evidenced by the number of guns the Quapaws owned when Joutel visited among them. Couture would later defect to the English, and in 1700 he would lead a group of Virginia traders along the Tennessee River, scouting an east-west corridor from the Atlantic to the Mississippi River. The trading house he established at Ostouy came to be known as the Arkansas Post, and it remained a pivotal trade node for the next 100 years.<sup>3</sup>

There are also some indications that the Chickasaws and other Southern Indians may have been making long-distance trade journeys to points north and northeast, which would have given them direct access to European traders. As is well known, the Indians of North America had far-flung trade networks prehistorically, and Helen Tanner has documented a Historic Period communication and travel network that corresponds closely to the shatter-zone region as depicted here.<sup>4</sup> There are several accounts of northern Indians in and around Chickasaw towns, as well as Chickasaws in and around the Ohio River valley and points northeast.<sup>5</sup> The Chickasaw could also have been trading with French trading houses around the Great Lakes, as the Canadian and Louisiana documents indicate Southern Indians moving freely that far north throughout the late seventeenth century.<sup>6</sup> The 1680 combined Chickasaw, Osage, and Quapaw delegation to Kaskaskia is but one example of an Indian-initiated council to establish trade relations with Europeans.

Although unrecorded, the Chickasaws and other Indians in the lower South could have had contact with English traders in the mid-Atlantic, as these Indians regularly traveled up the Ohio and Tennessee River valleys.<sup>7</sup> Although the Tennessee River route that Couture scouted never fulfilled the

English hopes of a major corridor from the Atlantic to the Mississippi River, there is evidence that English traders were conducting business with Indians along this river route by the late seventeenth century. In addition, early colonial maps show that the Chickasaws had towns along the Tennessee River at least by 1700, if not earlier.<sup>8</sup>

As early as the 1670s, Virginia traders were scouting for a route over the Appalachians. When two of these adventurers, Gabriel Arthur and James Needham, first encountered the Tomahitans, they already had about sixty guns. After examining the firearms, Needham and Arthur concluded that the guns were not English-made and that the Tomahitans must have been receiving them from Spanish Florida. The same letter also reveals that the Tomahitans were regularly in Occaneechi Town, and it is reasonable to question whether they also could have obtained some of the guns through an Indian network centered at Occaneechi Town. In addition, when the Fallam and Batts expedition reached the Ohio River in 1671, Indians on the Ohio greeted them with gun salutes, a clear sign that they had access to the trade, either directly with other Europeans or through an Indian network. They may have had direct contact, since Fallam observed two sets of initials carved on trees along the way, indicating that other Europeans had traveled through the area before them. Furthermore, only a few of these trans-Appalachian explorations were documented, but there were consistent rumors of other European traders moving through much of the South, indicating that there may have been many more direct trade contacts that went unrecorded.<sup>9</sup>

Trading with Indian middlemen is also a way in which the Chickasaws and others could have become engaged in the slave trade before direct contact with Europeans. In 1913 historian Almon Wheeler Lauber documented the long-distance movement of slaves through an inter-Indian slave-trade network, and more recently Alan Gallay sees the inter-Indian slave trade as one of the mechanisms by which Europeans acquired slaves in the southern slave trade.<sup>10</sup> The records of the French expeditions clearly indicate that Indian slaves were traded frequently and at great distances, as when the Koroa slave of a Loup Indian was taken back to French Canada. And although not detailed here, these same records document that the Illinois, who controlled much of the upper Mississippi River, were heavily involved in slaving campaigns at the time of the French expeditions, capturing hundreds of slaves and selling them to other Indians and Europeans. As we have seen, the Illinois established remote trading depots for trade with other Indians, and in this way the European goods they received for their human commodities

eventually found their way into Quapaw and other hands. Recall that the Quapaws were attaining trade items from Indian middlemen, but they did not acquire guns. The Iroquois, too, were conducting raids throughout the Midwest, opening another opportunity for inter-Indian exchanges involving slaves and European goods.<sup>11</sup>

And then there is the account of Lamhatty, whose story is anecdotal evidence for a long-distance, inter-Indian, slave-trade network. In 1706 some Creek slavers raiding along the present-day Florida Gulf Coast seized Lamhatty, a Tawasa Indian. The Creek slavers took him to the Tallapoosas, where he worked for several months. His captors then took him through several towns on the Tallapoosa River and finally sold him to some Savannah River Shawnees.<sup>12</sup> Lamhatty escaped from his Shawnee captors, only to surrender a few days later to Colonel John Walker, a Virginia planter. Walker was very curious about Lamhatty, having never encountered a Tawasa Indian before. And since Lamhatty was not threatening, Walker unbound him and let him move about freely. Walker eventually took him to Robert Beverley, the famed Virginia historian and early ethnographer, who interviewed Lamhatty through a Tuscarora interpreter and thus preserved his incredible story. A while later, when Walker realized that other Tawasa Indians were enslaved in Virginia, he began to treat Lamhatty like a slave. Lamhatty then “became very melancholly often fasting & crying Several days together Sometimes using little Conjurations & when Warne weather came he went away & was never more heard of.”<sup>13</sup> Lamhatty’s tale gives some indication that slaves, and presumably goods, circulated through a chain of transactions involving groups from present-day Florida to Virginia and perhaps beyond.

The above scenarios for Chickasaw and other Indian involvement in the commercial trade in Indian slaves prior to documented direct contact with Europeans is admittedly highly inferential and based only on a few tidbits of evidence. Likewise, the archaeology on Chickasaw involvement is suggestive but not definitive. Recall that sometime around 1650, the Chickasaws ended their sojourn north, settling in the present-day Tupelo area. There, they initially settled in small, dispersed towns across Town, Coonewah, and Chipawa Creeks. However, archaeologists have mapped a contraction of these settlements beginning around 1680 and continuing until 1720. They left Chipawa Creek, save one town, and consolidated their towns on Coonewah and Town Creeks. Clearly the Chickasaws now had much to worry about. In fact, they reported to Thomas Nairne in 1708 that before they had acquired guns, they had suffered terribly from Iroquois raiders, and that the Iroquois had driven

them out of their towns.<sup>14</sup> Considering Nairne's report and the archaeological data, it appears, then, that sometime around 1680, the Chickasaws began to suffer from Iroquois raiding and pulled their towns closer together. This also marks the Chickasaws' entry into the Indian slave trade as militarized Indian slavers.

Most scholars agree that what attracted the Chickasaws to the present-day Tupelo location was that it was the nexus of several major trails. The Lower Trade Path, the most important east-west thoroughfare from the Atlantic to the Mississippi River, passed through the heart of Creek country before turning northwest to follow the Black Prairie into present-day north Mississippi (see Map 5). Later, once the Upper Trade Path was established through the Upper Creek town of Okfuskee, the Lower Trade Path would join with the Upper Trade Path at the Chickasaw towns. In addition, from their late seventeenth-century location, Chickasaws could also easily connect via a north-south trail with Mobile Bay, where the French would soon settle in 1699. Furthermore, being situated at the headwaters of the Yazoo River gave them access to the Natchez Indians and the Mississippi River.<sup>15</sup> There is little question that the Chickasaws understood this place to be a strategic economic and political location, and their move there would suggest that they positioned themselves early on to become pivotal players in the new political economy of the South.

The archaeological collections from the mid-seventeenth-century sites around Tupelo, however, have yielded only one European artifact—a single glass bead—to date. The faunal assemblage from these sites, however, shows a clear shift in utilization of resources. In particular, the Chickasaws moved from an intensive exploitation of rabbit, opossum, and squirrel to an equally intensive exploitation of beaver, fox, raccoon, mink, bobcat, cougar, and wolf. Researchers understand this change to reflect the Chickasaws' entry into the European trade system through the selling of furs. These same investigations also suggest that the Chickasaws may have acquired guns at an early date; however, the evidence for this is indirect.<sup>16</sup> The La Salle accounts do not mention guns among the Chickasaws, but since the party never reached the Chickasaw towns, one should not draw any conclusions from this.<sup>17</sup>

If the archaeological inferences are correct about a mid-to-late-seventeenth-century entry into the trade system, it would have been small-scale and does not appear to have upset the balance of life for the Chickasaws. The archaeological evidence supports the proposition that, unlike those all around them, the Chickasaws retained some social and political cohesion. The ceramic



and settlement-pattern evidence suggests that Chicaza did not splinter into several migratory towns; rather, the whole group stayed together while undergoing a series of gradual transformations and an approximately seventy- to eighty-mile migration northwest between 1541 and 1650. Ceramic analysis shows a seamless replacement of Mississippian ceramics with those typical of the historic Chickasaw sites around present-day Tupelo (fossil-shell tempered ceramics).<sup>18</sup> In other words, the ceramics reflect a single population going through a series of cultural changes over several generations. These changes assuredly were sometimes profound, but the archaeology does not suggest any sort of early social, political, or cultural breakup like those experienced by chiefdoms on the Mississippi River.

Once the French settled French Louisiana in 1699, they took an intense interest in the Chickasaws, but at the time of the La Salle expedition in 1682, the French and other Europeans knew very little about them. Recall that Tonti learned from the two Chickasaw men they encountered that the Chickasaw claimed 2,000 warriors (or about 7,000 people). The earliest list of Chickasaw villages is on a 1684 map by Vincenzo Coronelli. He placed them at the headwaters of the Yazoo and listed eight towns: Fabatchaous, Malata, Archebophori, Totchinaskes, Chichafalara, Ontcha Patafa, Pakaha, and Chickoualika.<sup>19</sup> A 1687 report by Father Anastasius Douay, who claimed to have visited the Chickasaws, estimated that their principal towns were twenty-five leagues east of the Quapaws and were “very populous,” although he estimated the population of warriors at only 1,000. He also reported that their “chief” offered him the calumet several times, hoping to form an alliance with the French, and that this chief even offered to move to the Wabash River to be nearer to them.<sup>20</sup>

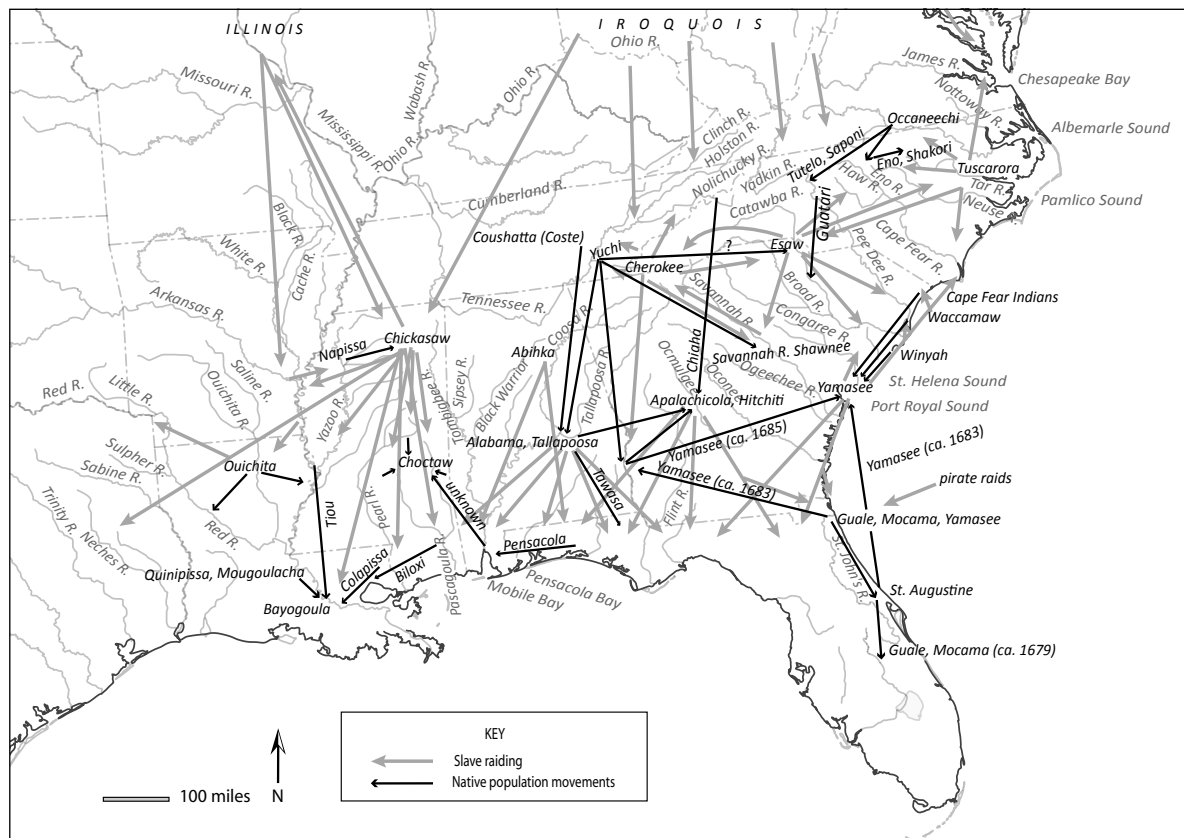
At the time of Father Douay’s report, Carolina entrepreneurs had already begun a vigorous campaign to expand the trade west. As early as the 1670s, Carolina began prospecting for Indian trade alliance beyond the Westos. In 1674 Carolina slaver Henry Woodward, while on an expedition to broker the Carolina alliance with the Westos, also surveyed the possibility of trade alliances with the Apalachicolas, who were then living on the Chattahoochee River in present-day Georgia. Under pressure from the Westos, however, Woodward and the Carolinians chose to abide by the Westo monopoly. Except for an apparently small trickle of trade to the Cussitas, Carolinians did not follow up on their contacts with the Apalachicolas until 1685, after they had successfully broken Westo control of the trade.<sup>21</sup>

By 1680 a group of ambitious men had arisen in South Carolina to not

only dominate the Indian trade but also to challenge the Crown's authority. They have become known as the Goose Creek Men, named after the regional neighborhood near Charlestown in which they lived. The Goose Creek Men formed as a religious and political faction and often challenged both the governing hand of the Lords Proprietors, the Crown's ruling nobility in the new colony. They were interested in the commercial slave trade in Indians and had been seeking to take control of this trade away from the Lords Proprietors almost from its inception. Virginia traders continued buying and selling furs and slaves, but their activities were soon eclipsed by those of the Carolina Goose Creek Men, and South Carolina emerged as the hub of the southern Indian trade. The ambitions of the Goose Creek Men were both unbounded and unscrupulous. They understood all too well that slaves were war captives, and hence they instigated, abetted, and fueled intra-Indian conflicts throughout the South for the next thirty years.<sup>22</sup>

The breakup of the Westo monopoly was but one such venture by the Goose Creek Men, who were beginning to flex their economic muscle by the late seventeenth century. In fact, one can attribute many of the early colonial Indian "wars" as stemming from the English efforts to wrest control over the trade from those militaristic slaving societies that had come to monopolize it. The first signs of the first generation of militaristic slaving societies having outlived their usefulness to English trade interests occurred by around 1675, and a series of European and Indian wars ensued. Virginia traders eliminated many of the Occaneechis in 1676 during Bacon's Rebellion, after which the survivors moved farther south (Map 6). The Westos were destroyed in 1682 by a group of Shawnee mercenaries in the pay of the Goose Creek Men. The Iroquois were also being seriously reduced by their wars with Europeans and Indians, and by 1686 their control of the trade was effectively broken. They then began a long retreat into New York and Canada; still, they continued their southern campaigns into the early eighteenth century.<sup>23</sup> With the monopolies of the militaristic slaving societies broken, the interior Natives, whom the monopolies had blocked from the trade for decades, joined with English traders, and we see the full emergence of a second generation of militaristic Indian slaving societies that included the Chickasaws.

The trade in the lower piedmont was the first to expand. With the Occaneechis' middlemen status destroyed in Bacon's Rebellion, other piedmont groups quickly took advantage of the situation to open their own trade agreements with Virginia and Carolina traders. By 1700 a series of small Indian towns were strung along the entire route of the Trade Path from the upper

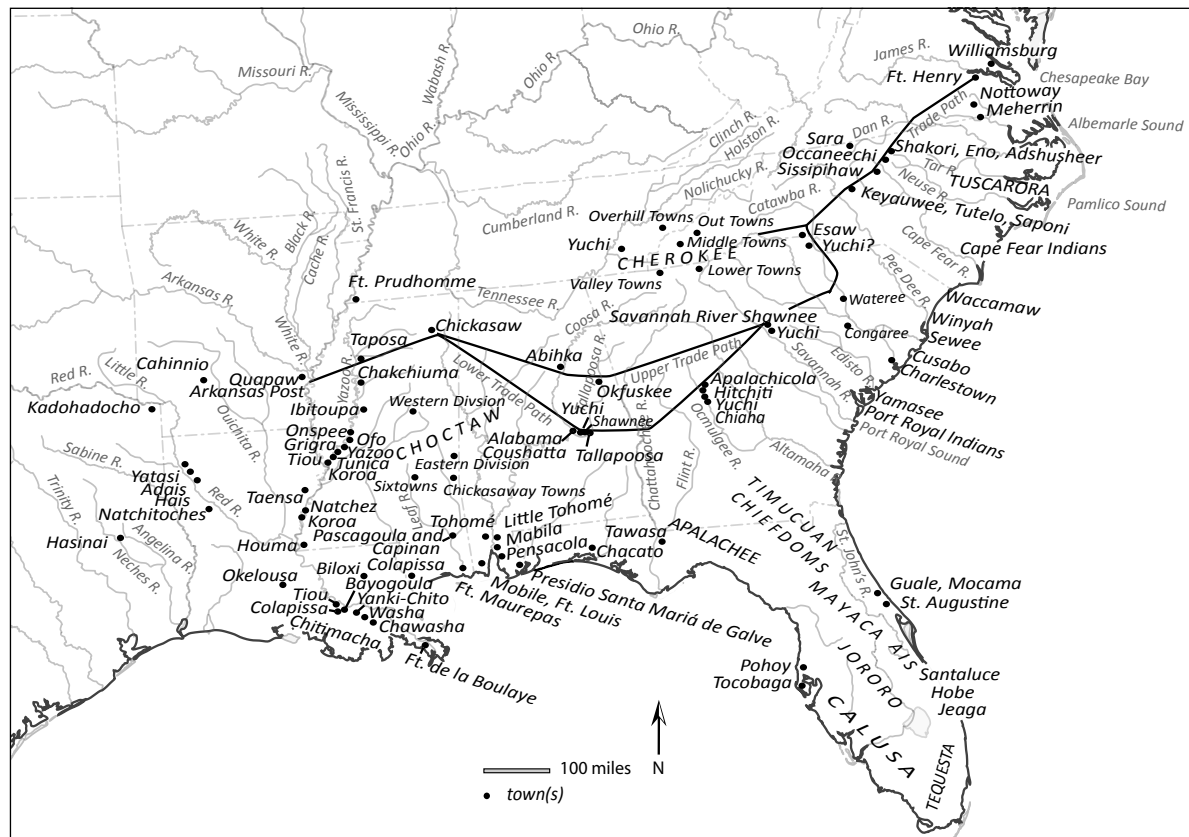


Neuse River to the Catawba River (Map 7). From north to south, one would pass first the Shakori, Eno, and Adshusheer, who joined as one town since their numbers had become seriously depleted by slaving and disease. South of there, Occaneechi survivors, who had abandoned the Roanoke Valley after Bacon's Rebellion, congregated into a small town. Next were the Sissipahaws. The Keyauwees welcomed both Tutelos and Saponis, who were searching for a new home after leaving the Roanoke Valley.<sup>24</sup> The Keyauwees, Tutelos, and Saponis placed their small towns side by side. After leaving the Keyauwees, one entered the lower Catawba Valley, where the Esaws were coalescing. South of there, a much-reduced Guatari—what later Europeans called Wateree—had moved from the Yadkin River to the lower Wateree River, giving this river its name (see Map 6 and 7).<sup>25</sup>

The Saras, and perhaps some of the former members of Joara, did not relocate to the Trade Path. They remained on the upper Dan River, although their circumstances changed in some important ways. For example, the archaeology shows that the Saras suffered an intensive loss of life during the late seventeenth century. The numerous deaths at Late Saratown—phase sites prompted one archaeological team to write that “many of the excavated villages appear more like cemeteries than habitation sites.” It would also be safe to assume that the Saras were under assault by the Iroquois and newly armed slave raiders roaming throughout the piedmont and Appalachians. The result was an abandonment of some of the larger towns and a dispersal along the Dan River into small, refuge communities. Even in these reduced circumstances, though, the Saras sought and obtained trade relations.<sup>26</sup>

Much of the population loss of the Saras can be attributed to a massive outbreak of smallpox all along the Atlantic seaboard that occurred in 1696, which historian Paul Kelton calls the Great Southeastern Smallpox Epidemic. As is well known, social disruption and disease go hand in hand, and Kelton argues that to understand the spread, duration, and mortality of introduced diseases into the American South, scholars must begin to link the epidemics to other colonial disruptions—in particular, the early colonial Indian slave trade. Kelton traces the initial outbreak of the 1696 epidemic to Virginia, and he documents its rapid spread throughout the piedmont and into the Carolinas as the disease followed the trade paths between the English and

MAP 6 (opposite) Slave Raiding and Some Indian Population Movements, ca. 1680–1700 (Note: the gray arrows represent generalized patterns, while the black arrows represent discrete movements of populations with varying degrees of certainty.)



Native slave traders. Kelton also documents that the piedmont and Carolina low country Indians suffered tremendously during this epidemic, which lasted about four years.<sup>27</sup> The archaeological evidence for life in the piedmont also reflects the ravages of the Great Southeastern Smallpox Epidemic. By the late seventeenth century, piedmont town sizes like those of the Saras were typically small, despite the fact that all of these towns were taking in remnant populations from other towns obliterated by disease and slaving. The whole region was in flux, as seen in these towns having short occupancy at all locations. Towns moved almost every ten years until about 1710, when they began to show more stability.<sup>28</sup>

While the Occaneechis had controlled the lower piedmont trade, groups such as the Saras and others had only limited access to the trade. With the Occaneechis dislodged, these groups readily engaged in the trade, even though by 1690 the interests of the English traders were turning more to the larger population centers forming in the lower Catawba Valley and in the Cherokee towns. Still, the amount of trade goods found at even the smaller piedmont sites indicates that the towns remained well connected to the Virginia and Carolina trade despite the instability of the region.<sup>29</sup> Take, for example, the Sara sites during the Late Saratown phase (1670–1710 C.E.). Before 1670, only glass beads and brass trinkets made their way to the Sara communities. After 1670, they began purchasing firearms, metal tools, copper pots, and cloth, in addition to glass beads and brass trinkets. They also began growing peaches. In one case, a young Sara man was buried in cloth trousers, cinched by a European belt with a brass buckle. His mourners had also tucked an English military-issue pistol in his belt at his burial.<sup>30</sup>

The Tuscaroras remained in their homeland (see Map 7), but the little archaeological evidence from the late seventeenth century suggests that they, too, suffered at the hands of slavers and from the Great Smallpox Epidemic. Cashie-phase sites (800–1650 C.E.) typically show large towns with year-round habitation. After 1650, though, the Tuscaroras appear to have been caught in a cycle of abandonment and relocation of their towns. One estimate puts the precontact Tuscarora population at 25,000; by 1700, there were only about 5,000 people living in only fifteen towns. Despite such hardships, though, the Tuscaroras emerged from their modest Woodland beginnings to become important middlemen in the southeastern piedmont trade, although

they were oriented more toward the Virginia trade than the Carolina trade. The numerous groups who volunteered to help the Carolinians in the Tuscarora War of 1711 testify to the number of enemies they made in their slave raiding (see Map 6). Even so, the Tuscaroras also feared enemy Indian slave raiders and seriously mistrusted the English because of it.<sup>31</sup>

By 1700 the Waxhaws, Esaws, Usherys, Catawbas, Sugarees, and perhaps others who had earlier begun to congregate on the lower Catawba River as a place of relative protection from slavers now crystalized in political and regional prominence as the coalescent Esaws; they would later be known as the Catawbas in the eighteenth century. The history of this coalescence is only now coming to light. Sometime in the mid-seventeenth century, the town of Esaw (Yssa) shifted from its sixteenth-century location on a tributary stream east to the main course of the lower Catawba River near the Trade Path, becoming the node around which others coalesced. Fleeing both disease and slavers throughout the late seventeenth century, Catawbas, Waxhaws, Usherys, and Sugarees moved into the area, where they, too, located their towns along the Trade Path (see Maps 4 and 7).<sup>32</sup> During the late seventeenth century, the collective group was called Esaw or Nassau by the English, a name that referred to both the town and the whole congregation of people on the lower Catawba River.

The Esaws jumped at the opportunity to enlist as slavers for Carolina traders when Carolina officials first approached them about subduing the Westos. In 1673 they had come to Carolina's aid to protect the settlement Indians against the Westos, and in 1682 they again joined forces in the Westo War. Although the Westo War was largely fought by mercenary Shawnees, the Esaws joined in some capacity, as evidenced by their selling of Westo slaves later on. When the Westo monopoly was broken, the Esaws, too, became militarized slavers, capturing and selling not only Westos but also Winyahs and Cherokees. Whether or not the other groups coalescing in the lower Catawba Valley became slavers is uncertain, but it is clear that all or most of the Esaw coalescent groups entered into mercenary agreements with Charlestown officials and conducted wars against not only the Westos but also the Savannah River Shawnees, the Tuscaroras, and later the Cheraws (see Map 6). They also aided the Carolinians against the Franco-Spanish attack on Charlestown in 1706. In return, the Esaw groups could take the spoils of war—including war captives, which they most likely sold as slaves on the slave market. Enlisting as mercenaries was one strategy for not only surviving but actually prospering in the Mississippian shatter zone because it was a way

to turn the Carolina tactic of promoting intra-Indian conflict into an Indian advantage, since it served to bind coalescing groups.<sup>33</sup>

Carolina traders also sought to realize their trade ambitions with the relatively numerous Cherokees. The first European contacts with both the Yuchis and the Cherokees after the Soto and Pardo expeditions went unrecorded. However, Henry Woodward correctly located the Cherokees at the headwaters of the Savannah River in 1674, indicating that English traders knew of them and their location by that time. Although there is some vague documentary evidence that the Cherokees and Yuchis may have teamed up to raid the Guales as early as 1680, certainly once the Westo and Occaneechi monopolies were broken, the Cherokees hoped to expand their trade relations with the Carolinians and Virginians. Still, trade was slow to develop because of a series of hostile actions taken against the Cherokees by Carolina traders and their Indian allies the Savannah River Shawnees, Esaws, and Congarees.<sup>34</sup>

The Savannah River Shawnee were a group of Shawnees who had moved to the Savannah River sometime around 1675. Another group settled near the Tallapoosas in present-day central Alabama around the same time (see Maps 4 and 5). It appears that the Savannah River Shawnees became embroiled in the slave trade soon after their move to the South, although their involvement during the Westo monopoly appears to have been minimal. The Goose Creek Men, however, abetted this growing competition between the Westos and Shawnees, and when the time was right, they enlisted the Shawnees as allies against the Westos. Although unrecorded, part of the offer, no doubt, must have included promises of a trade alliance with the Carolinians. After the Westo War of 1682, the Savannah River Shawnees became a full-scale, militarized slaving society. Their particular targets were the Cherokees, and, as agents of English traders, they repeatedly made raiding forays up the Savannah River into Cherokee country (see Map 6). The Esaws and Congarees, both Carolina trading partners, also raided the Cherokees throughout the late seventeenth century. The Cherokees recoiled from these slavers and mistrusted the English because of them. In 1693 a delegation of Cherokees traveled to Charlestown to complain about the slaving and to retrieve some Cherokee slaves. The governor's answer—there was nothing he could do—only confirmed their reasons for distrusting Carolina.<sup>35</sup> It took another five or so years for relations to heal between the two, but after that, the Cherokees, anxious to arm themselves with European guns, became eager trade partners. By 1698 thirty Cherokee towns were trading with Carolina and



scores of itinerant traders peppered the lower Appalachians, moving into and out of Cherokee towns. Carolina did not, however, establish a permanent factory with the Cherokees until around 1711.<sup>36</sup>

With the Cherokees now armed slave raiders, and with a renewed Iroquois southern campaign, by 1700 slaving fully engulfed the lower Appalachians and southern piedmont (see Map 6). Although the Cherokees had escaped the ravages of the Great Smallpox Epidemic, their towns constricted, undoubtedly in response to other groups raiding them and to place themselves in a better position to the trading routes. Smaller groups in the Appalachians dispersed. For instance, the remaining Coushatta (Coste), themselves having suffered through Westo depredations, disease, and the breakup of the paramountcy of Coosa as well as their own chiefdom, were especially vulnerable. Throughout the 1690s, the Cherokees relentlessly raided the greatly outnumbered Coushattas and sold them to Carolina traders. In response, the remaining group of Coushattas on the Tennessee River fled south, where they joined former citizens of Coste already forging new lives with the Alabamas on the upper Alabama River (see Map 6). Soon after, some Cherokee towns settled in former Coste territory.<sup>37</sup>

The Yuchis took another tack. Their simple chiefdom likely broke apart much earlier, but by the late seventeenth century, they began allying themselves with various larger groups, aiding them in their slave raiding and no doubt sharing in the proceeds from it. By the early eighteenth century, one group of Yuchis had moved to the Savannah River, where they attached themselves to the Savannah River Shawnees. One group had moved to the Chatahoochee River, where they joined with Apalachicola; they later moved with them to the Ocmulgee River in 1690. Another group of Yuchis moved to the Coosa and Tallapoosa River valleys near the Tallapoosa and Alabama Indians. Still others remained on the Tennessee River, where they became closely affiliated with the Cherokees. In addition, some Yuchis may have eventually joined or become affiliated with the emerging Esaw union (see Map 6).<sup>38</sup>

Other militarized slaving societies emerged along the southern Atlantic coast by 1700. The Yamasees, who had begun to coalesce on the Carolina coast in the mid-seventeenth century, had joined the Guales and Mocamas in their exodus to present-day Florida. Then, in 1683 and 1684, the remnants of Spanish Guale and Mocama, now severely weakened, were pushed farther south by a series of pirate slaving raids.<sup>39</sup> At this time, the Yamasees fled the failed Spanish protection altogether. Some moved north to their former residence around Port Royal Sound. The majority followed Chief Altamaha,

now the presiding mico of the Yamasees, when he led 300 unconverted Yamasees to the Apalachicola province on the Chattahoochee River (see Maps 4 and 6).<sup>40</sup> With the Westos now gone, in 1685 the Chattahoochee Yamasees decided to move back to South Carolina, near their former location on Port Royal Sound. There, they either joined or moved near to the 160 St. Helena Indians already occupying the area (see Maps 6 and 7). This location also placed them near the new Scottish settlement of Stuart's Town, founded by Lord Henry Cardross in 1684.<sup>41</sup>

Immediately upon their arrival at Port Royal Sound, the Scots enlisted the Yamasees as slavers against the Spanish mission Indians—the very Indians with whom some Yamasees had taken refuge only twenty years earlier. In this advance, the Yamasees destroyed the Timucuan mission of Santa Catalina de Afueya and returned with twenty-two slaves for the Scots. Convinced that the Yamasees had no lingering ties to the Spanish, the Scots formalized a trade alliance. Almost immediately, low country Indians and others flooded into Port Royal Sound, joining the Yamasees and seeking access to the trade through the Scots. Cardross and the Scots were alarmed by this turn of events, but the Yamasees assured them that they were only taking in displaced kin. Still, some of the refugees identified themselves as Guales, Cussitas, and Cowetas, and one can assume that people from other Indian societies sought safety with the Yamasees as well.<sup>42</sup>

Stuart's Town was destroyed by a Spanish raid in 1686, which was followed by a series of Spanish raids against the Yamasees in 1687. With the departure of the Scots, and seeking armaments against Spain, the Yamasees entered into trade agreements with Carolina traders, at which point they, too, became fully militarized slavers. The Indian slave population in Carolina increased, as Yamasees sold their human cargo to those entrepreneurial planters envisaging the Carolina low country rice plantation system. In this way, the newly formed Yamasees soon stepped into the breach created by the destruction of the Westos, began slaving far and wide, and experienced an increase in population and power.<sup>43</sup>

The same year that the Yamasees moved to Port Royal Sound, Carolina's Lords Proprietors commissioned Henry Woodward, escorted by fifty Yamasees, to go to Apalachicola, at which time he also sent his agents farther west into present-day central Alabama to make contact with the Tallapoosas on the Tallapoosa River, the Abihkas who were still on Wood's Island, and the Alabamas and Coushattas on the upper Alabama River in present-day central Alabama (see Map 7). Apparently, Woodward's agents also made contact

with the Chickasaws at this time, although it does not appear that this contact established a direct trade; that would not happen for two more years.<sup>44</sup> The Indians of present-day central Alabama already had access to European trade through the Spanish trade network, but their access to armaments was limited. As the historian Steven Oatis notes, for the Apalachicolas, the arrival of Woodward was not necessarily momentous. Rather, the English traders most likely represented just another avenue to trade goods that they had been purchasing for decades, except that they could now purchase guns in abundance. In addition, their contact with the Yamasees who were now English trading partners eased the way for negotiations.<sup>45</sup>

The Spaniards, however, saw the presence of the English in the interior as encroaching on their imperial claims and goals. They also looked warily on the possibility of more English-armed slave raiders filtering into Spanish Florida. Intelligence of the French on the lower Mississippi and English machinations in the interior prompted the Spanish authorities in La Florida to allocate more military aid to their northern frontier, especially along the Apalachee province. In 1682 the Spanish crown had already mobilized over 300 troops to fortify the fort at San Luis de Talimali, the primary Apalachee mission town. They also had distributed firearms to some Apalachee men. Three years later, Woodward penetrated into Apalachicola, Tallapoosa, Alabama, and Abihka, and Spanish officials cast a worried eye on the developments. Worry soon turned to suspicions and distrust, and Spanish relations with these interior groups became strained. Spanish relations with Apalachicola had soured briefly when the town of Sabacola expelled its missionaries in the late 1670s, but by 1680 they were on a better footing, although Apalachicola leaders still would not succumb to Spanish authority.<sup>46</sup>

The Indians of present-day central Alabama had been grumbling about Spanish goods, especially the paucity of firearms, for some time. When English traders arrived, with no compunction against selling guns and ammunition, those in Apalachicola, Tallapoosa, Abihika, and Alabama looked favorably on this turn of events and welcomed the newcomers. As soon as officials in La Florida heard about Woodward's contact with the central-Alabama groups, the governor dispatched Lieutenant Governor Antonio Matheos from San Luis to Apalachicola with six Spanish soldiers and 200 Apalachees, all armed with guns. Matheos's mission was to confront the Apalachicolas about their divided loyalties and arrest any English among them. He arrived in the Apalachicola towns only to find the occupants as well as the English traders gone. His welcome was an almost completed trade

warehouse and a snide note from Woodward stating that he hoped to meet him in the future when he (Woodward) had “a larger following.” Matheos returned to Apalachee, regrouped, and returned to Apalachicola the next year determined to strong-arm the Apalachicolas into pledging allegiance to Spain. When he returned, the English had obviously been busy expanding the trade, as evidenced by Matheos’s confiscation of scores of guns and dressed deerskins.<sup>47</sup>

Although Matheos’s actions intimidated some of the Apalachicola towns, they mostly ruptured the already strained relationship of the principal towns. Coweta and Cussita refused to bow to Spanish pressure to oust the English traders. Tuskegee and Kolomi followed suit. Matheos, in what was to prove an unwise choice of action, burned the four towns to the ground. Although the towns afterward agreed to live under Spanish rule, as events later transpired, it is obvious that they did not intend to honor the pledge and, once armed with English guns, would seek their own revenge against Apalachee and Spanish Florida.<sup>48</sup>

Spanish officials knew that their hold over Apalachicola was tenuous at best, so in 1689 they erected a fort near Coweta. It was manned by twenty Spaniards and twenty Apalachees. Even so, it did not stop Carolina trader George Smith from making a trade expedition to the Chattahoochee and inviting headmen from Coweta and Cussita to Charlestown to formalize their trade alliances. Afterward, the lower Chattahoochee groups—the Apalachicolas, Hitchiti towns, and those groups who had taken refuge with them, such as some Coushattas and Yuchis—moved en masse to the Ocmulgee River to be closer to the English (see Map 6). They would stay on the Ocmulgee for the next twenty-six years.<sup>49</sup>

The Apalachicolas and their attached groups moved near present-day Macon, Georgia, on the Fall Line of the Ocmulgee River near the Early Mississippian site of Ocmulgee (see Map 7). Once there, they divided themselves into two groups—a northerly group composed of the Apalachicola towns of Coweta, Cussita, Tuskegee, and Kolomi and a more southerly group composed of the Hitchiti-speaking towns of Ocmulgee, Hitchiti, and Osuchi and the Yuchi town (see Map 7). While there, English traders began to refer to the whole as the Ochese Creeks, an ethnonym that was later shortened to Creeks. At Ocmulgee they built a trading house that has come to be known as the Macon Trading House. Archaeologists have uncovered this trade house, as well as several of the towns in this vicinity. These investigations show that the Macon Trading House was a thriving trade depot. English

items dominate the trade goods, although a small amount of Spanish goods are also present, indicating that, despite their differences, the Ochese Creeks continued to trade with the Spaniards. Although they traded heavily in slaves, the archaeology also shows a heavy trade in skins, indicating that the Ochese Creeks were already embarking on an enterprise that would become the economic mainstay of the South for most of the eighteenth century.<sup>50</sup>

Recent investigations of the movement to Ocmulgee reveal that a number of people from the Tallapoosa towns of Tuckabatchee, Atasi, and Tallasee migrated with their Apalachicola neighbors, settling in both the northern and southern sectors of settlement (see Map 6). The congregation at the Ocmulgee River also attracted more distant peoples, such as the Chiaha, who originated in the Appalachians of present-day western North Carolina and who settled among the Hitchiti towns (see Maps 1, 6, and 7). There is some evidence that a group of Yuchis also settled with the Hitchitis.<sup>51</sup> The majority of people in the three provinces of Tallapoosa, Abihka, and Alabama on the Tallapoosa, Coosa, and Alabama Rivers, however, opted to remain where they were. Archaeology from late seventeenth-century Tallapoosa towns indicates that their towns were densely nucleated, although none were palisaded. They had completely stopped building and using the mounds. And after the Westos were dislodged, Carolina traders established English trade houses in each of these provinces. Trade goods excavated from these towns are entirely Spanish until around 1680, when Spanish goods were swiftly eclipsed by English goods. As we will see, between 1685 and 1698, the Abihkas, Alabamas, Tallapoosas, Apalachicolas, and Hitchitis began intense slaving campaigns. For reasons unclear, the Tawasas living in central Alabama moved to Apalachee in 1695, at which time they petitioned the Spanish to allow them to settle nearby. The petition was granted, and the Tawasas established towns just west of Apalachee, but they never converted to Christianity (see Maps 6 and 7).<sup>52</sup>

It may have been at this time that another province arose in central Alabama—that of Okfuskee. In the middle and late eighteenth century, the Okfuskees lived in several towns on the upper Tallapoosa River where the Upper Trade Path crossed the river, and Okfuskee was their largest town (see Map 7). Okfuskee origins, however, are obscured as a consequence of their receiving so little archaeological research. Whether they were the descendants of Mississippian polities on the upper Tallapoosa River or were immigrants into this area in later years is not known. One of their headmen apparently signed a 1705 treaty with Carolina, indicating that they constituted a rela-

tively substantial population and province at that time, but the location of their towns is not indicated. A map drawn by Thomas Nairne soon after his 1708 voyage to the Chickasaws shows that he followed the Lower Trade Path to the Tallapoosa province, but he does not depict Okfuskee on the map. His notes, on the other hand, specify that he offered a commission to “the Ogfuskee Capt,” but he does not indicate if the captain was from Tallapoosa or from the Okfuskee province.<sup>53</sup> Regardless of when the Okfuskee got there, their position on the Upper Trade Path proved an advantageous position once the Upper Trade Path was opened to Carolina trade.<sup>54</sup>

After having fully engaged the central Alabama groups, Carolinians began to turn their trade attentions to the Chickasaws, and by so doing they would construct an unbroken chain of English-allied slaving partners across the entire extent of the Lower Trade Path from Charlestown to the Chickasaws. Although likely connected to the European trade system before 1690, the Chickasaws were relatively latecomers to a full-scale, direct involvement in the commercial slave trade. After Woodward’s 1685 reconnaissance, the next documented visit to the Chickasaws by a European trader was in 1690. At this time, the governor of Carolina enlisted John Stewart to head a trading expedition to the interior groups and “to cross the mountains to go a trading to the Chekesas [*sic*].”<sup>55</sup> Stewart early on had recognized that Indian trade alliances would be powerful tools in the imperial contest over North America, and he had long urged Carolina officials to pursue them. Once commissioned, Stewart spent two years at the Apalachicola town of Cussita, and, while there in 1692, he probably made the trip to Chickasaw country. After returning to Carolina, however, Stewart used the proceeds from this expedition to purchase land, and afterward he was only peripherally involved in the Indian trade. Carolina interests in a Chickasaw trade alliance would not be realized for another six years.<sup>56</sup>

At this time, Carolinian officials and entrepreneurs were beginning to realize the imperial value of the Indian trade, and they had political and military interests in securing a land route to the Mississippi River, thus contesting French control of the river corridor. With this in mind, in 1698 the Carolinians enlisted two slavers, Thomas Welch and Anthony Dodsworth, to travel west to the Quapaws on the Mississippi River. The Welch and Dodsworth expedition has no known documentation, except that their route is marked on some colonial maps. Their route indicates, however, that they mapped out and opened the Upper Trade Path, which connected Carolina to the Quapaws. The Upper Path also crossed directly through Chickasaw territory.

Welch and Dodsworth had their biggest success not with the Quapaws, but with the Chickasaws. And although they do not mention them by name, French documents from the late seventeenth century indicate Englishmen living among the Chickasaws and inspiring the capture and commercial sale of Indian slaves.<sup>57</sup> Although the Chickasaw trade may have begun slowly with an indirect trade in furs, after the opening of the Carolina trade, pelts became second to Indian slaves in terms of valued trade-exchange items. As Thomas Nairne noted in 1708: "The Chickasaws live in an Excellent hunting country, both for Larg dear [*sic*], and other game, but the difficulty of carriage makes their trade of less Value, but there is a remedy to be had for this. Formerly when beaver was a comodity [*sic*] they sold about 1200 skins a year but no imployment [*sic*] pleases the Chicasaws so well as slave Catching."<sup>58</sup> With a direct line to Carolina and the Goose Creek Men now open, the Chickasaws became a militarized slaving society, and this would prove as disruptive to the region as anything that had come before.

France did not sit idly by while English traders made inroads into what the French hoped would become French Louisiana. With La Salle's failure, France's interest in the lower Mississippi River had stalled, but by 1698 a renewed vigor took hold, due in part to English designs on the river corridor. The French crown commissioned Pierre le Moyne, sieur d'Iberville, to go to the mouth of the Mississippi and scout locations for a possible settlement. Iberville set sail in 1699, and once he reached the Gulf coast, he began attempting to retrace La Salle's voyages.<sup>59</sup> The documents generated by the early colonial efforts of Iberville and the other Frenchmen on the Gulf coast and lower Mississippi River valley bespeak of a region in much turmoil. Everywhere they went, French explorers saw evidence of disease, slaving, and severe disruptions to Indian life. The most vulnerable Indians were abandoning their homelands and relocating farther away from the slave catchers. In the worst cases, whole towns were being destroyed, with survivors seeking solace with others. All were fearful of English-armed slave raiders; in particular, the Alabamas, Tallapoosas, Abihkas, and Chickasaws perpetrated a reign of terror over the whole of the region (see Map 6).

Iberville directed three expeditions to the Gulf coast at the turn of the seventeenth century, and much had changed since La Salle had been there. Approaching the Gulf coast, Iberville first passed by the newly fortified Presidio Santa María de Galve at present-day Pensacola (see Map 7).<sup>60</sup> Immediately upon his arrival in the Mississippi Sound, Iberville began to hear and see evidence of a region and people in distress. As Iberville's ships entered

Mobile Bay, they came upon a strange scene. According to Iberville, on one of the barrier islands, they found sixty men and women who had been decapitated, their remains scattered about and mixed with some of their household belongings. Iberville guessed that the unfortunate group had been slain by an enemy, and, given the condition of the corpses, he estimated that it had occurred three or four years prior. On the other hand, André Pénigault, one of Iberville's *engagés*, recorded that they found only a pile of skeletons on the island, and that later they learned that the bones were the remains of a "numerous nation, who, being pursued and having withdrawn to this region, had almost all died here of sickness." Pénigault also recorded that they were the Mobila Indians. Iberville named the island on which he found the remains Massacre Island. His brother Bienville later renamed it Dauphin Island, which it is called today.<sup>61</sup>

At the time of Iberville's first voyage, the Mobila Indians were in residence in the Mobile-Tensaw Delta in present-day southern Alabama. In the three centuries prior to the European invasion, the Mobile Bay and the Mobile-Tensaw Delta was home to part of the Pensacola culture, as discussed earlier (see Map 1). Archaeologists have determined that the Pensacola chiefdoms in this region were quite large and well organized, and their micos oversaw and held influence over thousands of people. The most impressive polity of the Pensacola culture was in Mobile Bay at the Bottle Creek site, which is located on Mound Island in the center of the Mobile-Tensaw Delta. The Bottle Creek site was contemporary with Moundville to the north, and it was just as impressive. The site contains over eighteen mounds, with the largest reaching over forty-five feet in height. Bottle Creek reached its zenith of social and political prominence between 1250 and 1550 C.E., after which it was largely abandoned to become a much revered, though uninhabited, religious center and necropolis. By the time Iberville came to Mobile Bay, Bottle Creek and the other Pensacola chiefdoms were gone and replaced, in one archaeologist's words, by "a confusing array of smaller tribal societies." Most of these smaller polities held no more than 1,000 people. However, the Bottle Creek site retained something of its sacred status into the eighteenth century.<sup>62</sup>

It is unclear exactly which Pensacola polity, if any, was the ancestor to the seventeenth-century Mobilians. Recall that there is archaeological evidence to suggest that some of the former Mabilians, who had so ferociously battled Soto at the battle of Mabila, may have migrated to this area sometime after the Soto engagement (see Map 2). Once there, they would have most likely joined a local population. Prior to Iberville's arrival in 1699, the earli-



est documentary evidence for the Mobilians comes from a 1675 report by Bishop Dias Vara Calderón. Calderón reported that the Mobila were on an island in the Mobile-Tensaw Delta, although he did not visit them himself. In 1686 they were reported to be at war with the Tohomés, who lived on the lower Tombigbee, and with the Pensacolas, who lived near Pensacola Bay (not to be confused with the Pensacola culture), and also to be suffering from a drought. Two years later, a contingent of Mobilians traveled to Apalachee, seeking new lands on which they could settle; the reason for the request went unrecorded, and the request was not granted. In 1693 a Spanish report described the Mobilians as strong and prosperous, although they were still at war with the Pensacolas. These Spanish reports also indicate that armed slave raiders may have been penetrating to the Gulf by 1690, since the lives of the Mobila obviously were already disrupted. If Pénigault was correct, prior to 1699 some had already fled to the coastal islands in their attempts to evade armed slave raiders.<sup>63</sup>

The group who had fled to the coastal island, however, do not represent all of the Mobilians. In fact, many Mobilians remained in their ancestral homes in the Mobile-Tensaw Delta, albeit their lives were assuredly changed from that of their Pensacola culture predecessors (see Map 7). In the early 1700s, Iberville, his brother Jean Baptist le Moyne, sieur de Bienville, and Charles Levassuer separately investigated the Mobile-Tensaw Delta. Levassuer spent the most amount of time in the Indian towns and left the most extensive account. He described the polity as consisting of five small towns of about 500 people each. He also heard that the Spanish had erected a cross in one of the towns, indicating that the Mobilians had some contacts with the Spanish in La Florida. Levassuer liked the Mobilians and described them as “of a strong, merry temperament; they dance and play almost always.” Their “chief” was Mananboullay, which was most likely a war title. Levassuer translated it as “the man who speaks well.” The people called him *ouga*, a word the French generally translated as “chief” and that may have been the Choctaw word, *oka*, for mico. Whether or not the Mobilians retained some hierarchy in 1700 is doubtful, and Mananboullay was in all likelihood a high-ranking councilman rather than a Mississippian-type mico.<sup>64</sup>

Although clearly diminished from its Mississippian days, Mobila, as some documentary tidbits may indicate, retained something of its stature among Gulf coast peoples into the late seventeenth century. Pénigault testified to a public square and priestly temple of some sort, although he decided the word “temple” was an overstatement. Still, in 1722, Charlevoix wrote in his history

of Louisiana that the Mobilians had enjoyed “a sort of primacy in religion, over all the other nations in this part of Florida.” He continued that when the sacred fire of any community in the vicinity went out, representatives made the sojourn to Mobila, where they rekindled it. People for miles around had considered the old mound center at Bottle Creek, which Iberville visited in 1702, as the “place where their gods are, about which all the neighboring nations make such a fuss and to which the Mobilians used to come and offer sacrifices.” Iberville had the audacity to remove five statues—likenesses of a man, a woman, a child, a bear, and an owl—from the premises. Local Indians were amazed that he had not been struck dead on the spot. With imperial nonchalance, Iberville merely remarked that he was planning to take the statues to France, “though they are not particularly interesting.” These accounts may indicate that Gulf coast groups were all of one fire, or closely affiliated, and that Mobila represented the Mother Town. Obviously, the Bottle Creek site, though abandoned, still held much significance.<sup>65</sup>

Levassuer and Iberville also visited some of the Tohomés (Tomehs), one of the groups with whom the Mobilians were at war in 1686. The Tohomés also may have had Pensacola culture roots in the Gulf coast area. By 1700 they were divided into two groups: the Tohomés and the Little Tohomés. The Little Tohomés were also known as the Naniaba and the Gens des Fourches. The Tohomés lived in several villages on the Tombigbee River near McIntosh’s Bluff (see Map 7). They had apparently made peace with the Mobilians by this time, since Little Tohomé was at Nannahubba Bluff near the Alabama-Tombigbee River junction and close to Mobila. Levassuer visited Little Tohomé, which was on two beautiful islands covered with peach trees in the Mobile River. Levassuer met two ougas (or micos) while at Little Tohomé. He also learned that there were three *outactas*, which were the micos’ lieutenants, advisors, or war captains. The two micos may reflect the division of the Tohomés into Tohomé and Little Tohomé, or Little Tohomé may indeed have had two high-ranking men called ougas—perhaps reflecting the dual roles of war and peace captains. The Tohomés apparently had little or no access to European goods in 1700, as they told Levassuer that they knew little of metals. They did, however, produce salt for barter with the interior groups, the Choctaws being their biggest customers.<sup>66</sup>

The population figures for the Mobilians and Tohomés are difficult to assess. As we have already seen, in 1700 Levassuer estimated the Mobilians at 2,500 men, women, and children (about 625 warriors) and the Little Tohomés at about 300 people (about 75 warriors). That same year, Iberville put

the number at 300 warriors each for the Mobilians and Tohomés, but in 1702 he revised the combined Mobila and Tohomé populations to 350 men total. Explorer and historian Bernard de la Harpe, writing in 1723, estimated the Mobilians at 400 men in 1700 and the total for the Mobilians, Tohomés, and Little Tohomés at 700 men.<sup>67</sup> From these numbers, one can only estimate that the three groups combined totaled between 500 and 800 “gun men,” or about 2,000 to 3,200 men, women, and children.

This estimate also comes after almost a decade of slaving and disease. As early as 1693, the Tawasas, in present-day central Alabama, were moving down the Alabama River to attack Mobila towns. By 1700 the Mobilians and Tohomés were under siege by English-armed Alabama and Abihka slave raiders, and they had consequently abandoned several towns throughout the Mobile-Tensaw Delta. Even the Tawasas were forced to flee southward in 1695, after which they took up residence in Spanish Florida (see Maps 6 and 7). In addition to information on the region from Mobile Bay to the Tensaw fork, Levasseur also gathered information about areas up the Tensaw to the Alabama and Tallapoosa towns at the Alabama-Coosa-Tombigbee River convergence in central Alabama. Levassuer’s report on this region is brief, but he lists thirty-six Indian “nations” between Mobile Bay and the Tallapoosa River. He also notes that many of these “nations” were small and hostile to other groups “because the English had supplied them with arms and munitions.” Levassuer learned that English traders were supplying these groups with loads of goods brought in on packhorses, for which the Europeans received deer and bison skins. But, as Levassuer went on to note, “the greatest traffic between the English and the savages is the trade of slaves which the nations take from their neighbors whom they war with continuously, such that the men take the women and children away and sell them to the English, each person being traded for a gun.” Levassuer added that this traffic in slaves “greatly destroys” the French’s coastal neighbors, especially the Pensacolas and the Mobilians.<sup>68</sup>

West of the Mobile-Tensaw Delta, Indians were also in much turmoil at the time of Iberville’s first voyage. After leaving Dauphine (or Massacre) Island, Iberville coasted along the shoreline, occasionally encountering Indians and, as an indication of his goodwill, leaving metal tools and beads behind when he came across abandoned towns or homesteads, which were numerous. Iberville most likely also inadvertently left disease microbes, as almost his entire crew was suffering from an unidentified “plague.” One of Iberville’s encounters gives some clues as to which other groups were living along the

Gulf coast at this time. At one point, Iberville, Bienville, and eleven Frenchmen pursued a group of Indians in canoes that they had espied on one of the coastal waterways. The Indians pulled their canoes ashore, where they abandoned them, as well as an elderly sick man who had been traveling with them. As a show of goodwill, Iberville tended to the sick man, building him a fire and providing him with food, water, and tobacco. Meanwhile, Bienville and two Canadians searched the area and captured an Indian woman. To further demonstrate their peaceful intent, they left her with the old man, giving her some presents and tobacco to take back to her group. Indian scouts in the vicinity apparently noted the Frenchmen's kindnesses, as the next morning several arrived to sing the calumet ritual with Iberville. Although the elderly man did not survive the day, the French and local Indians exchanged gifts and shared food. The next day they met again, but this time Iberville noticed that the Indians had secured their canoes and all of their provisions, indicating that they perhaps did not trust the strangers. Still, a small group boarded the French ship to inspect it, and Iberville fired a cannon to entertain and awe them. Iberville identified this group of Indians as Biloxis (Annocchys) and Moctobys. Pénigault also listed members of the Pascagoulas, Capinans, Chickasaws, and Pensacolas as being in this group, although scholars now believe that Capinan was another name for Moctoby.<sup>69</sup>

Parsing through this list of Indians gives us some idea of which Indian groups were on the coast at the time. Their experiences also show the effects of rampant slave raiding throughout the region. Most scholars believe that the Pensacolas had lived in the western Florida area since the 1500s or earlier, but the first documentary record of them comes from a late seventeenth-century Spanish document. In 1677 they were living near the Chiscas and Chacatos in western Florida, but they had been warring continuously with the Choctaws and Mobilians (see Map 5). By the 1690s, these hostilities were compounded by the onset of Apalachicola slaving, and in 1693 the survivors moved closer to the Spanish fort at Pensacola Bay. A few years later, after establishing peace with the Choctaws and Mobilians, they would relocate again to the eastern banks of the Mobile River (see Maps 6 and 7).<sup>70</sup> In the seventeenth century, the Capinans, Biloxis, and Pascagoulas were occupying the Pascagoula River drainage, the mouth of which is about twenty-six miles west of Mobile Bay, and all three groups likely had precontact roots in the area (see Map 5).<sup>71</sup>

The Pascagoulas, whom the Biloxis called Chozetas, spoke a Choctawan language similar to the Mobilians and Tohomés, and they maintained close

ties to the Choctaws, as evidenced by their similar pottery styles. At the time that Iberville first met the Pascagoulas, they were at war with the Chickasaws and apparently had suffered greatly at their hands. In 1699 Bienville explored the Pascagoula River and came to the three towns of Pascagoula, Biloxi, and Capinan. A year later, when Iberville made another contact with the Pascagoula town, the town had been decimated by disease. Only twenty families remained. This was not the first time Iberville had seen such. During both his 1699 and 1700 voyages, Iberville made note of the many abandoned towns along the Gulf coast and Pascagoula River—a clear indication of the multiple movements that occurred once the coastal area was under siege by armed Chickasaw slave raiders and reeling from disease. This also helps explain the Pascagoulas' rapid embrace of the French: they needed European allies for protection and munitions.<sup>72</sup>

The Biloxis (or Annocchys), a Siouan-speaking group, appear at various places and at various times in the documentary record. They seem to have either gone through a series of movements throughout the late seventeenth century or were divided into several towns stretching from present-day central Alabama to the Gulf coast. Bienville's 1699 reconnaissance of the Pascagoula River placed a Biloxi town at its fork, and he estimated the number of warriors for all three towns of Pascagoula, Biloxi, and Capinan at 130 warriors, or about 520 people. A year later, the Biloxis moved near Lake Pontchartrain (see Maps 5, 6, and 7). Later that same year, Iberville visited the abandoned Biloxi town on the Pascagoula River, where he counted thirty abandoned homes, only three of which were still standing; the rest had been burned. He made note of the palisade surrounding the town, which he assessed to have been only sufficient for protection against bows and arrows and not European-made armaments. He also reflected that the Biloxis were "formerly quite numerous." This is the only mention of a palisaded town on the Pascagoula River and suggests that the palisade afforded protection to all three towns—Biloxi, Capinan, and Pascagoula. It also follows a pattern of building palisades around towns throughout the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century shatter zone, most likely as a measure to protect people from slave raiders.<sup>73</sup>

The day after Iberville's meeting with this mixed group of Indians, a chief of the Bayogoulas, along with twenty-one Bayogoula men and some Mougoulachas, having heard the cannons, arrived in the French encampment. They explained to Iberville that their towns were on the Mississippi River and that they had been hunting in the vicinity when they heard the canons.

They also wanted to know if Iberville's party was "of the people of the Upper Myssyspy." In other words, these Indians had encountered or had heard of the earlier French explorers. The French and Indians then went through a series of greeting ceremonies to ensure peaceful relations, including singing the calumet. In fact, Iberville took this opportunity to give to the Bayougoulas an iron calumet made in the shape of a ship, complete with a white flag adorned with fleur-de-lys and glass beads. Each pledged friendship, and the Indians informed Iberville that, through these ceremonies, several other "nations" on the Mississippi were also now their allies. These were the Mougoulachas, the Chawashas, the Chitimachas, the Yanki-Chitos, the Biloxis, the Capi-nans (Moctobys), the Houmas, the Pascagoulas, the Thécloëls (the name the Natchez called themselves), the Bayacchyts (Bayou Chicot), and the Amylcous.<sup>74</sup>

The Bayougoula headman may have been exaggerating the claims of alliance in the calumet ceremony that he performed with Iberville, but the list of Indian names gives further documentary evidence as to what groups were living where in the Gulf coast and lower Mississippi Valley around 1700, as well as the tumult in which they found themselves. Some of the Indian groups that were mentioned, such as the Natchez, the Houmas, and the Biloxis, have been relatively easy to identify. Others, however, have proved vexing. The Amylcous and the Bayacchyts are only known from this single reference. The name "Bayacchyto" is probably a Choctaw word for "big bayou," and the name is applied to the present-day Bogue Chitto, a tributary of the Pearl River.<sup>75</sup> In 1699 the Chawashas, Yanki-Chitos, Washas, and Chitimachas were all closely associated and living in the Bayou Lafourche–Bayou Terrebonne watershed west of the Mississippi River and near its mouth (see Map 7). Recent archaeological investigations indicate that they probably had deep precontact roots in the same area. According to Bienville, they all spoke similar languages, and the French often glossed them together as the "people of Bayou Lafourche." The group, in total, was relatively small, numbering only about 250 or so families.<sup>76</sup> At the time of the La Salle expedition in 1682, the Mougoulachas may have been living on the west side of the Mississippi River, near the Quinipissas (see Map 5). Sometime after 1686, disease ravaged the Mougoulachas, reducing them to only fifty gun men combined, or about 200 people. When Iberville met them, they had taken up residence with the Bayougoulas, who were now living downstream on the west side of the Mississippi at the mouth of Bayou Lafourche (see Maps 5, 6, and 7).<sup>77</sup>

After singing the calumet with the Bayougoula and Mougoulacha party,

Iberville arranged to rendezvous with them later so that they could guide his ship to the mouth of the Mississippi River. At the appointed time, however, the hunting party failed to meet them, leaving only the forest burning as a smoke signal. Bienville, sent to investigate, returned with a Biloxi man, who informed Iberville that the hunting party had set the woods ablaze to indicate to them that they had to return home due to a lack of provisions. Iberville proceeded without them to the Mississippi.<sup>78</sup>

Upon reaching what he thought was the mouth of the river, Iberville anchored his three ships, and with a small contingent of men (including his brother), he proceeded upriver in longboats in search of the Quinipissas. Iberville had with him some of the accounts of those who claimed to have descended the river, and he knew that La Salle had a hostile meeting with the Quinipissas near the mouth of the Mississippi, hence his search for them. His plan was first to find the Bayogoulas, where he could gather information about the river and the Indians living along it. At some point, the Frenchmen met a small Biloxi hunting party. They told Iberville that a short time ago, they had been attacked by some Chickasaws and Napissas, although Iberville claims he later learned that “there is no war at all between them.” There is no way of knowing why Iberville came to this conclusion; the Chickasaws were indeed conducting slave raids against the Biloxis and other Gulf coast groups at this time. Scholars likewise are unclear as to Iberville’s reference to the Napissas, since the name does not appear in subsequent documents. Most conclude that the Napissas represented a small group who were probably located on the upper Yazoo basin near the Chickasaws in the seventeenth century and, citing a later reference from Iberville, were later absorbed by them (see Maps 5 and 6). Iberville gave the Biloxis party knives, glass beads, and axes in return for some bison and bear meat and a guide to the Bayogoula towns, which they estimated to be three and a half days from where they were.<sup>79</sup>

After a few more days traveling upstream, the Frenchmen came upon two canoes. One belonged to five Washa men and two Washa women, and the other belonged to three Bayogoula men and one Bayogoula woman. After the Bayogoula party gave Iberville some corn, the Washa party left for their town, which was two days farther up the river, and the Bayogoulas left for their town to announce the arrival of the French.<sup>80</sup>

Sometime after 1686, the Mougoulachas had joined the Bayogoulas. At the time of Iberville’s visit, the two groups, now combined, totaled about 250 warriors, or about 1,000 residents. Although living together, the two groups

kept some sort of autonomy, as indicated by the fact that Iberville was met by two “chiefs”—one a Bayougoula and one a Mougoulacha. As Iberville neared the landing to the town, four Mougoulacha men in a canoe came to meet him, bearing the calumet. The two micos were waiting at the landing, and upon disembarking, they welcomed the French. They had brought the iron calumet pipe that Iberville had given the first group of Bayogoulas that he had met on the coast, and they used it to perform the calumet ceremony. Afterward, all spent the afternoon in singing and dancing.<sup>81</sup>

Iberville observed that the Mougoulacha headman wore a blue serge great-coat that the headman claimed to have received as a present from Tonti when he had passed through a few years prior. Upon hearing this, Iberville eagerly inquired about Tonti, La Salle, and the Quinipissas. The headman misheard “Colapissa” for “Quinipissa” and began telling Iberville about the Colapissas, who lived on the Pearl River. Through signs and a small amount of the language that Bienville, a good linguist, had picked up while on the journey, the Bayogoulas and Mougoulachas informed Iberville that the Colapissas had six towns eight days’ travel overland, east-northeast of where they were. They continued that the Colapissas were once seven towns, but that Tangibao, the massacred village that La Salle’s men had encountered, had been destroyed by the Houmas, and that Houma warriors took the survivors with them. Needless to say, this and subsequent details that they provided about the river’s course and placement of the Indians on it contradicted the accounts Iberville carried with him.<sup>82</sup> Confused by the conflicting information but determined to find the Quinipissas to verify that he was, in fact, on the Mississippi River, Iberville grew suspicious that the Bayogoulas and Mougoulachas, who were acknowledged friends of the Quinipissas, may be misleading him. He decided to go to the Houmas, who, he reasoned, would perhaps be more willing to give accurate information about the Quinipissas since they were enemies of them.<sup>83</sup>

The next day, Iberville went into the Bayougoula town, which he noted was surrounded by a ten-foot-high cane palisade. After exchanging gifts and feasting, Iberville walked around the town with the Bayougoula mico. The mico showed Iberville their “temple,” which, according to Iberville, was the same size as their other houses but adorned with animal carvings. One animal in particular dominated the sacred iconography: that of the *cho:uco:uacha*, or the opossum. Iberville also saw the sacred fire burning in the middle of the room and offerings of deer, bear, and bison skins. Among the offerings, he noticed a piece of thick glass that he surmised Tonti had given to them. In a



later report written by Father Paul du Ru from the same town, du Ru noted that there were actually two sacred houses at the Bayougoula-Mougoulacha town, each on opposite sides of the plaza. One was Bayougoula and one was Mougoulacha. In addition to the offerings, du Ru noticed the bones of their dead micos “carefully wrapped in palm mats.” The town was still suffering from a smallpox epidemic, and some of the inhabitants were still infected with it. Iberville observed their many deceased wrapped in cane mats and raised about seven feet above the ground on burial scaffolds with small, cane-covered awnings.<sup>84</sup>

After another day of feasting, singing, and dancing, Iberville’s party and some Bayougoula guides departed for the Houmas. Before departing, Iberville left a young French boy, Saint-Michel, in the town to learn the language—a frontier custom used by the French to cultivate good relations with Indian people. The boys undoubtedly also served as French spies. At the Houma-Bayougoula boundary, the party passed several palmetto-thatched huts and a “maypole” painted red, on which were hung several fish heads and bear bones as a sacrifice. This was the famous *bâton rouge*, after which the present-day Louisiana city is named and which served as a boundary marker between the Bayougoula and Houma territories. The Bayougoulas and Houmas had been vying for the same territory for years and apparently erected this marker, beyond which one another was not to trespass. Iberville hoped to broker a peace between them while he was with the Houmas. Arriving at the Houma landing, three Houma and two Quinipissa men awaited him with the calumet. The party marched about six miles up and along a steep bluff to the Houma town, which was on the east bank of the river at a large bend before its junction with the Red River (see Map 7). The mico of the Houmas welcomed the Frenchmen with the calumet, and the whole town turned out for singing and dancing in the plaza that lasted into the night. Iberville estimated that there were about 140 homes and 350 men in the town, for a total population of about 1,400.<sup>85</sup>

Conferring with the Houmas over the location of the Quinipissas, they spoke at length about Tonti’s 1686 visit with them. Their information on the river, however, still did not jibe with Iberville’s accounts, which, in his words, “truly disappoints me and puts me in great difficulty.” Iberville thought to continue to Koroa, and upon his departure, six Houma and one Taensa guide accompanied him. Iberville questioned the Taensa man about the river, hoping to get better information from him. The guide knew his geography well,

and he drew Iberville a detailed map of the lower Mississippi Valley. The map showed the Caddo towns west along the Red River, the Natchez towns, the Taensa towns, the towns at the mouth of the Yazoo and up the Yazoo, and the Quapaw towns. The Yazoo River, known as the River of the Chickasaws by local Indians, was still populated by many of the same people about which La Salle and Tonti had heard. These were the Koroas, Yazoos, Tunicas, Onspees, Ofos, Taposas, Chakchiumas, Ibitoupas, and Tioux (see Maps 5 and 7). Apparently, the Yazoo basin groups were “at peace with one another.” The Taensa guide also mentioned that the Napissas and Chickasaws were “joined together, their villages are near one another,” indicating that the process of absorption had already begun.<sup>86</sup>

With all the Indians corroborating one another, Iberville was finally becoming convinced that the accounts of the river that he was using were false—a conclusion that his men had apparently reached days before. What finally convinced him, though, was when Bienville recovered the letter from Tonti to La Salle that Tonti had left with the Quinipissas fourteen years prior. However, the letter was in possession of the Mougoulacha mico, which led Iberville to conclude that Mougoulacha was a synonym for Quinipissa—a miscalculation that has since made its way into modern scholarship. Unknown to Iberville, the Quinipissas had been devastated by a recent disease episode, and the survivors had joined the Mougoulachas; they were all now residing with the Bayogoulas. Still, the letter corrected a more important fact for Iberville: he was now certain that he was on the Mississippi River. The party returned to the coast, where Iberville established a small garrison, Fort Maurepas, on Biloxi Bay. Leaving Ensign Sauvole in charge and Bienville as his eyes and ears, Iberville then sailed for France.<sup>87</sup>

The same year that Iberville paddled the short distance up the Mississippi River, Tonti made a third expedition down the river from French Canada. The Seminary of Foreign Missions had been granted permission in 1698 to establish missions among the Indians of the Mississippi Valley. Fathers François-Jolliet de Montigny, Antoine Davion, Jean François Buisson de Saint-Cosme, and Dominic Thaumur de la Source departed from Montreal and enlisted Tonti at Mackinac to escort them to their posts.<sup>88</sup> After entering the Mississippi River just south of the mouth of the Illinois River, the party encountered some Cahokias (an Illinois group), who had been living near the mouth of the Ohio River but who had fled north after being raided by a group of Shawnees, Chickasaws, and Karkinonpols. The raiders had killed

ten men and taken nearly 100 slaves, mostly women and children. Clearly, the Chickasaws were raiding not just their neighbors to the south and west but more distant peoples to the north as well.<sup>89</sup>

When Tonti and the priests reached the Quapaw towns, they were shocked at what they saw. Disease and slaving had hit the Quapaws hard. Scores of people had died. As Saint-Cosme put it, "There was nothing in the village to be seen but graves." He also remarked that only about 100 men were left, and all the women and children had died. It is also likely that some of the women and children had been taken into captivity to be sold as slaves. Exactly which Indian groups were raiding the Quapaws at this time is uncertain, except to say that as the French party approached the mouth of the Arkansas, Tonti lost a young Indian slave. The party was fearful that he had been snatched by Chickasaw slavers, indicating, if nothing else, that the persistent rumors of Chickasaw raiders in the area may have been true.<sup>90</sup>

The Quapaws beseeched the priests to stay with them, but they explained that they could not properly administer to them because the Quapaws were now too few and scattered into several towns. The priests advised them to congregate their remaining people into a single town by the next spring, and that they would send a missionary to them. They had a cross erected in Cappa and, continuing downstream, dispersed themselves along the Mississippi River. Father Davion stationed himself among the Tunica and Father Montigny among the Taensa, and Fathers de la Source and Saint-Cosme made their way back upriver to the Tamora and Cahokia—although Saint-Cosme would eventually be stationed with the Natchez. En route back up the Mississippi, Father de la Source noted with some pride that the Quapaws on their own accord had erected another cross on the riverbank.<sup>91</sup>

While at the Arkansas Post, the Frenchmen heard that Iberville had reached the coast. They also first heard about the Quinipissas being devastated by a recent disease episode. At this point, the Quinipissas become absent from the documentary record, indicating their absorption by the Mougoulachas. In a later report, the Frenchmen relayed that Jean Couture had been among the Quapaws, but they did not mention Dodsworth and Welch—who, in 1698, after contacting the Chickasaws, apparently had continued on to the Quapaws.<sup>92</sup>

However, the priests heard of English traders in the area when they continued their course to the Tunicas on the Yazoo River, where Father Davion decided to establish his mission. The Tunicas, too, had been struck by terrible disease and were still suffering its effects. In fact, one of the Tunica leaders,

dying from disease, agreed to be baptized before he died. According to Father de la Source, "They were dying in great numbers." Father de la Source also noted their temple on "a little hill," indicating that, although the building of new mounds had ceased some decades before, the extant mounds were still in use at this time. While among the Tunicas, the priests met an unnamed English trader, who offered to escort Father Davion to visit the Chickasaws, which he apparently did. As Davion later reported to Ensign Sauvole at Fort Maurepas, the Englishman had attempted to have his Chickasaw partners kill him, but they had refused. Davion also remarked on the brisk trade between the Chickasaws and Carolinians and concluded that establishing a mission among them would be useless, as they were already "devoted to the English."<sup>93</sup>

Meanwhile, at Fort Maurepas, disease had swept through the fort, debilitating most of the force. Still, Sauvole and Bienville, as ordered by Iberville, mustered enough healthy men to explore the coastline and interior waterways and to familiarize themselves with the inhabitants. With much gift giving, Sauvole hoped to solidify the friendly relations already established with the Bayogoulas-Mougoulachas, Pascagoulas, Mobilians, and others with whom they had earlier smoked the calumet. When a contingent of Bayogoulas came to inspect the fort, Sauvole sent two young French boys back with them to learn their language; one was to live with them and one with the Houmas. The Bayogoulas reciprocated and left a twenty-two-year-old man to stay at the fort and learn French. As news of the French presence on the coast began to circulate, Indians arrived at Fort Maurepas to meet the newcomers and to seek aid against slave raiders. In particular, Mobilian and Tohomé delegations arrived to ask for protection against the Abihkas and others who were raiding and killing their people (see Map 6). Sauvole also sent reconnaissance sorties up the adjacent river valleys, where they saw much evidence of heavy slaving. On the Pascagoula River, the reconnaissance party encountered the towns of the Pascagoulas, Biloxis, and Capinans (Moctobys), as recounted earlier. Up the Pearl River, Bienville met the Colapissas (Acolapissas), correcting Iberville's supposition that they were the Quinipissas (see Map 7). He also found them living in such fear of Chickasaw slave raiders that as Bienville's party approached their town, Colapissa warriors drew their bows, ready to attack. They had mistaken the French for two Englishmen who had recently come with 200 Chickasaws to raid their town.<sup>94</sup>

Father Davion's report of Englishmen among the Chickasaws was corroborated by a Pascagoula man who claimed to live with the Choctaws. This

man told Sauvole about Englishmen who were living among and soliciting Chickasaws to raid their neighbors. He further relayed that the Choctaws had done battle with the English and Chickasaws because they were so enraged over the taking of slaves. Sauvole noticed one of the Pascagoula men with a blue blanket, which he believed the man had gotten in this battle. In addition, Bienville later boarded an English ship scouting the coast, informed the captain that the country was now in possession of the French, and threatened force if he did not immediately leave. The English captain, commissioned by the ambitious colonial promoter Daniel Coxe, was searching for a setting for an English colony, and he was supposed to rendezvous with the traders among the Chickasaws. The English ships departed after a few days, but not before the captain informed Bienville that he would return with better ships to settle on the Mississippi River. Even though Coxe's ambitious plans for a western English settlement did not come to fruition, all of this activity only raised French concerns over English penetration to the Mississippi River.<sup>95</sup>

In January 1700 Iberville returned to the Gulf coast on his second voyage of exploration and with an intent of settling a permanent colony. Once again, the ships arrived with disease, as Iberville and many of his men were suffering from the "French disease," most likely yellow fever. Sauvole briefed Iberville on the activities at Fort Maurepas over the previous seven months, informing him of the English ships, the two Englishmen among the Chickasaws and their slaving activities, and the arrival of Fathers Montigny and Davion at the fort. The priests, having separated from Tonti at the Quapaw town, had arrived at Fort Maurepas on July 4. They were not there when Iberville arrived since they had already returned to their mission stations.<sup>96</sup> Still, Iberville was briefed on the information from Davion and Montigny. From Davion's expedition to the Chickasaws, he learned about the two Englishmen—that they had been among the Chickasaws for several years and had been instigating warfare between the Chickasaws and "their enemies and friends and forcing them to take prisoners, whom he buys and sends to the islands to be sold." These English traders also carried on a brisk trade with the Tunicas, Taensas, and Natchez, selling guns, blankets, and beads, among other things.<sup>97</sup> If Iberville's report is accurate, Welch and Dodsworth had a successful mission indeed, and the reach of English influence now extended down and across the Mississippi River.

Iberville now also received the first reports of the Quapaws having guns. Father Davion relayed that Jean Couture had led an expedition of English

traders to the Quapaw towns via the Tennessee River.<sup>98</sup> Other reports were also circulating about English traders in and around the Quapaw towns. In 1700 Tonti noted that there was a river, south of the Ohio River, that ran to Carolina, with headwaters in the mountains by which the English “bring on pack horses, merchandise to that Englishman (who is among the Chicachas).” That same year, Pénigault, who accompanied Pierre Charles le Sueur to Illinois country in search of copper mines, actually met one of the Englishmen at the Quapaw towns and wrote that the trader gave the Frenchmen many provisions out of his own stock. In 1701 Father Gravier further reported that the Quapaws had obtained guns from “the man who brought them a lot of merchandise to alienate them from the French, and especially from the missionaries.” According to Gravier, the trader had also taken two Quapaw wives. In the trade tactics of the day, the English traders stirred up the Quapaws to raid the Chakchiumas. By this time, the Chakchiumas were allies of the Chickasaws, so such raiding by the Quapaws would have served to exacerbate the already hostile relations between them and the Chickasaws.<sup>99</sup>

Reports of defecting Canadian *coureurs-de-bois* also began to circulate. Iberville, of course, already had intelligence of Jean Couture’s defection, but in 1701 another group of Canadian *coureurs-de-bois*, led by Bellefeuille and Pierre Sauton, followed Couture’s route along the Tennessee River, where they encountered Englishmen who had already established trading posts for the slave trade among several Indian towns. Bellefeuille and Sauton continued to Carolina in the hopes of forging a trade partnership with the Carolinians. The alliance never materialized, but the solicitation from renegade French partners bespoke to the expanding orbit of English influence and economic connections.<sup>100</sup>

Hearing such reports, Iberville set to work. Immediately, he gathered a contingent of men and small watercraft to go up the Mississippi River. Father Paul du Ru was on this expedition and left a brief but extraordinary account of the voyage. On this, his second ascent, Iberville, with the help of some Bayougoula guides, first located a high place on the banks of the Mississippi near its mouth to build another fort, Fort de la Boulaye (see Map 7). While constructing the fort, Father Paul du Ru and Iberville had an interesting conversation with one of the Bayougoula elders who was at the site. The elder informed Iberville and du Ru that the Bayougoulas expected French help to avenge some deaths at the hands of the Houmas, with whom they were still at war despite Iberville’s efforts the year before. Both Frenchmen sidestepped the issue. Neither were amenable to joining in such an effort,

since they could ill afford to have Indian enemies lurking about. In du Ru's words, "War is by its nature always a bad trade." Unlike the English, who by now were entrenched in the instigation of intra-Indian warfare for slaves, the French understood their reliance on Indian allies and knew that widespread Indian conflicts only jeopardized their efforts.<sup>101</sup>

According to du Ru, one day, while they were busy constructing the fort, there was "a great uproar, lots of shouting, great rejoicing, [because] M. de Tonti has come." Tonti was escorting to Fort de la Boulaye twenty Canadian *coureurs-de-bois* and Illinois Indians, who were responding to a letter from Sauvole promising work for any man who came to the fort. Iberville soon found Tonti indispensable. Not only did he have extensive knowledge of the Mississippi River, having descended it three times, but he, the Canadians, and the Illinois all spoke a variety of Indian languages. Iberville persuaded Tonti and some of his men to explore upriver with him.<sup>102</sup>

Father du Ru accompanied Bienville, whose party left ahead of the others. After five days of hard paddling, they finally arrived at a preappointed rendezvous spot; there, they were to meet the party headed by Le Sueur and M. du Gué, who were bringing support troops to replace some of the Canadians who had fallen ill. Both had traveled overland to the Mississippi bank, but du Gué had continued on to the Bayougoula towns. Le Sueur joined Bienville, and after three more days of arduous paddling, they met Iberville two leagues from the Bayougoula towns.<sup>103</sup>

The next day, "Everybody dresse[d] up to meet the Bayougoulas. Beards [were] trimmed and fresh linen put on." The French arrived at the Bayougoula landing and were greeted with embraces and the calumet. At the town, Iberville and du Ru toured the temples. The Mougoulacha mico entertained his guests by displaying his prestige items—buffalo hair, pearls painted red, some fine pottery, a buffalo-hide match coat, and a dress made out of a cloth made from tree bark. The following day, Iberville, observing that the scouting party had grown too large, sent many of the men back downriver, and with some Bayougoula guides, he proceeded to the Houmas. Before departing, however, Iberville enlisted Tonti to attempt to arrest the Englishmen among the Chickasaws. Iberville instructed Tonti to return upriver to the Tunicas and lure the Englishmen there by feigning interest in sharing in the trade. Once among French-allied Indians, he could then arrest them.<sup>104</sup>

A canoe of Bayougoula men who were hoping for the release of some prisoners taken by the Houmas accompanied Iberville. Iberville had agreed to use his influence in securing the captives' release, and he hoped to reestablish

peace between the two groups. The Houmas greeted the French with the calumet ceremony. The micos also agreed that peace with the Bayougoulas would be beneficial for all, and, after several objections, they finally agreed to return the captives.<sup>105</sup> The Houmas' reluctance to return captives may have been prompted in part by their own need to bolster their population through adoptions. Since Iberville's first visit with them, the townspeople had been suffering for five months with a debilitating diarrhea (a symptom of either dysentery or cholera), and over half the people had died, including one of the micos.<sup>106</sup>

Iberville took leave of the Houmas to continue to the Natchez. There, he was once again greeted with the calumet, but he was dismayed to learn that they, too, were suffering from diarrhea, and their mico had been ill for two months. The Natchez were, like all the groups along the Mississippi River corridor, now heavily exposed to introduced diseases because of the growing river traffic from Canada to the Gulf and the growing commerce along the Upper Trade Path. When La Salle came through Natchez territory (although he did not explore it extensively), the accounts indicate a heavy population. The next decades saw a steady decline. In 1686 Tonti estimated the Natchez to have 1,500 warriors, and in 1699 Bienville estimated their number at 1,200 warriors. In 1700 Tonti would report only 800 to 900 men, but Father Montigny, who spent some time in the Natchez towns, counted only 400 homesteads in the entire Natchez polity around 1700. The priest had also been proselytizing the Natchez and had baptized 185 children.<sup>107</sup>

Despite the Natchez mico's illness, Iberville remarked that the mico, whose home was atop a mound, was "the most tyrannical Indian I have beheld." Father du Ru was likewise impressed with his regal bearing and the deference and respect shown him by the people. The Natchez, of course, retained much about their Mississippian political structure and the authority of their elite.<sup>108</sup> These observations were in contrast to Iberville's note that the micos of the Houmas and others he had encountered up to that point had "no more power over their people than do the chiefs of other nations of the confines of Canada."<sup>109</sup> Iberville's journals also give some small evidence that the Natchez were at war with the Chickasaws in 1699. Also, Davion had reported that the English traders had approached the Natchez about a possible trading partnership. The exact relationship between the Natchez, Chickasaws, and Carolina traders is cloudy, except to say that a few years later, the Chickasaws and Natchez were close allies and the Natchez were conducting slave raids for English profits.<sup>110</sup>



Iberville soon left Natchez for Taensa, which was still located on present-day Lake St. Joseph, as it had been when La Salle had visited (see Map 7). At Taensa, Iberville found Father Montigny, who was building a church in the central town. Several years later, Bienville would remember the Taensas as being as numerous as the Natchez, having around 1,200 warriors. In 1700 Iberville relayed that the main Taensa town formerly was much larger, but he now estimated the town to house 120 families spread out two leagues along the lake shore. He put the number of men at 300. He also later noted that the Ouchitas were abandoning their towns, and that many had joined the Taensas. Clearly, the Taensas, too, had suffered a dramatic population decline and continued to decline, despite the fact that they were taking in refugees.<sup>111</sup>

While at Taensa, some of the Frenchmen witnessed what to them seemed a horrendous episode. One night, during a great thunderstorm, lightning struck the Taensa temple, igniting it into a great fire. The “chief priest,” an elderly man, shouted to the women to offer their children as sacrifices to appease “the Spirit.” Five women handed their infants to the priest, who flung them into the fire. For the Taensas, this was one of the most noble religious acts, and the women afterward were sanctified by the priest and all the people and elevated in status. Iberville learned that the sacrifice of these five infants was believed to be necessary because, at the death of the last chief, no one had been sacrificed, and hence the deities were angry and burned down the temple. He also learned that the people were furious with Montigny because he was the one who had prevented the sacrifices at the mico’s death. Iberville, misreading the situation, concluded that the people were content with the rupture in the burial ceremony of the mico.<sup>112</sup> This event also confirms that the Taensas, like the Natchez, were still practicing retainer burials and perhaps other religious elements of the chiefdom hierarchical political order.

While among the Houmas, Iberville had determined to proceed to the Caddos via the Red River, but he could not find guides to take him from there. The Houmas insisted the best route was to follow an overland route from the Taensa towns. Hence, upon arriving in Taensa, Iberville sought guides to take his party to Caddo country. A knee affliction prevented Iberville from making the trip, so he sent Bienville and Louis Juchereau de Saint-Denis instead. They would later return to Fort Maurepas, the exploration thwarted by rain, flooding, and severe dysentery among the group. As the Taensas built and consecrated a new temple, Iberville nursed his knee and prepared to depart. Perhaps due to the mood of the town, Father Montigny offered to post another missionary among the Taensas and left with Iberville

to establish a mission among the Natchez. On his return to the Natchez town, Iberville found the mico dying “and all his people griefstricken [*sic*].”<sup>113</sup>

The reports of Bienville’s trip to Caddo country indicate that the expedition came on the heels of at least one and perhaps more epidemics that had struck the western Caddo. Since many of La Salle’s colonists in the doomed expedition of 1685 died of smallpox at Fort St. Louis, it is reasonable to suppose that local Indians would have been exposed over the four-year life of the small colony. However, most of the diseases that swept through Caddo country likely originated in New Spain. Spanish documents reveal that at least four disease episodes occurred in Texas between 1528 and 1691. The 1691 episode is known to have been specifically in Caddo country. Upon hearing of La Salle’s efforts, in 1685 New Spain had expanded its northeastern frontier by establishing missions in several of the Hasinai towns. The project was small and only lasted about seven years. Only fifty soldiers, fourteen priests, and seven lay brethren had been allocated to it. Still, this sort of sustained contact would have had epidemiological consequences, and that same year, the Spanish recorded an unidentified but deadly disease in the Caddo towns. Although the precise numbers are elusive, scholars estimate that this single epidemic may have carried off over 3,000 Caddo people. Given the amount of trade that flowed through Caddo country, it is also likely that some of these diseases spread farther east into the lower Mississippi Valley and perhaps beyond. This also could help account for the amount of disease that Iberville saw in 1699 and 1700. Scholars estimate that in 1700, no more than 25,000 to 30,000 people lived in all of the Caddo confederacies, compared to an estimated population of 200,000 at the time of the Soto entrada.<sup>114</sup>

Despite massive population losses, by 1700 the Caddos managed to take full advantage of their location and the east-west trade opportunities opening up with the Spanish and French colonial efforts. A little over a decade later, the Hasinai, especially, would be the premier horse traders in the region, moving horses from west to east and supplying most of French Louisiana with their horses. The French post near the Natchitoches, settled in 1714, would become the regional trade center for decades.<sup>115</sup>

The full history of horses in the American South has yet to be written. Still, we know that once horses became available, Southern Indians quickly adopted them and became proficient horsemen and horsewomen. In the early years of the European trade, trade items were packed in and out of Indian towns by burden bearers. However, as the supply of horses increased, so did their utility, until they became indispensable for the conveyance of

people and goods. Traders brought European-manufactured goods into Indian towns and exported skins to the colonial towns on packhorse trains, sometimes with as many as 100 packhorses. Slaves, on the other hand, usually made the journey on foot.<sup>116</sup>

Although Indian people certainly traded in horses, much of the supply of horses in Caddo country came from raiding their western neighbors and taking horses as war booty. Conversely, having a large supply of horses also attracted raiders into Caddo country. This is especially true for the Chickasaws, who began raiding the Caddos perhaps as early as the 1680s and continued to do so into the eighteenth century (see Map 6). Chickasaw raiding became so intense that some scholars propose this was as influential as disease in the contraction of the Caddo confederacies in the late seventeenth century and their taking in of refugees. Documentary evidence records that the remaining of the Ouichita towns moved west, away from Chickasaw raiders, and took up residence with the Natchitoches (see Map 6). Furthermore, the raiding resulted in much death for the Caddos, as well as the taking of many Caddo slaves, and the Caddo population declined even further.<sup>117</sup>

As Bienville journeyed through Caddo country, Iberville was en route to the Houmas; there, he met Tonti, who had first gone to Fort de la Boulaye for supplies before heading upriver to arrest the Englishmen. In the meantime, though, some Taensas who had been to Chickasaw country corroborated the reports of Englishmen among the Chickasaws, but they said that there were not just two but many Englishmen there. Although the Taensas' report was most likely exaggerated, Iberville thought better of Tonti's mission to the Chickasaws and canceled it. Instead, Iberville instructed Tonti to continue to Tunica and ask to meet with the Chickasaws there. He was to inform them that the French had settled on the Mississippi and were "friends of all the nations nearby, with whom we are doing business in everything; that it rested entirely with them to do as much and become friends of ours by ceasing to make war on the Nadchés [Natchez] and the Colapissas and the Chaquitas [Choctaws]." Iberville also asked Tonti to relay to the Chickasaws that if they did not make peace, the French would arm their Indian neighbors with guns. He further offered better trade agreements than the English, promising merchandise at one-fourth the English price. He sent Tonti on his mission with several presents for the meeting.<sup>118</sup>

Iberville later received a letter from Tonti, posted from the Tunica towns. In it, Tonti relayed that he had sent a message to the Chickasaws asking for a meeting at Tunica, and Chickasaw elders had sent a nephew of one of the

Chickasaw chiefs to speak with him. The man's uncle was unavailable because he had gone "on a war party" with 600 warriors against the Choctaws. Tonti reminded the nephew of an earlier alliance between the French and the Chickasaws, probably referencing the calumet ceremony conducted with the mixed group of Indians that Iberville had encountered along the coast on his first voyage. He then invited the Chickasaws to come to the French post in the spring and parlay with Iberville, and he gave the young man several presents as a show of goodwill.<sup>119</sup> Tonti then continued on to Illinois.

Leaving one of Father du Ru's assistants at the Houma town with instructions for building a church, Iberville continued to the Bayougoula-Mougoulacha towns. Iberville did not tarry long there and continued on to Fort de la Boulaye. Father du Ru, who had decided that he would establish his mission among the Bayougoula-Mougoulacha, remained behind for about two weeks to oversee the building of his mission and the planting of his garden, after which he, too, returned to Fort de la Boulaye.<sup>120</sup> From Fort de la Boulaye, Iberville journeyed up the Pascagoula River to the Biloxi and Pascagoula towns, as noted earlier. Both towns had been decimated by disease and slaving; the former had been abandoned completely and the latter had only about twenty families living there. Meanwhile, he sent Sauvole to the Colapissas on the Pearl River, where he was to confirm the friendly relations with them that Bienville had established the year before, validate the claims of freshwater pearls in the Pearl River, and oversee some pearl fishing. Father du Ru, who wanted to also establish a mission among the Colapissas, accompanied Sauvole. Although the pearl fishing did not pan out due to high waters, Father du Ru managed to persuade the Colapissas to replace a "phallic symbol" in the plaza with a cross.<sup>121</sup>

The Colapissas (or Acolapissas) were a Natchez-speaking group living in six small towns on the lower Pearl River in 1700 (see Map 7). Estimates at the time put their total population at about 250 families. This number likely reflects their recent demise at the hands of Chickasaw slavers. Father du Ru reported that their main town, which was composed of fifteen to twenty homes, had been "surrounded by a palisade of pointed stakes ever since the invasion of the Chickasaws." This "invasion" referred to a recent attack, reported by Bienville, in which 200 Chickasaws and two Englishmen destroyed the Colapissa towns and carried off about fifty people (see Map 6). Father du Ru surmised that many of the people in the environs had taken refuge in the palisaded town, and he estimated that 500 people had crowded into the small town. Some, though, had fled southwest to the Bayougoulas,

as recounted by Bienville, who stopped at the Bayougoula towns upon his return to Fort de la Boulaye from Caddo country. Bienville also reported that the Bayougoulas had killed all of the Mougoulachas among them, and that afterward some Colapissas had petitioned to live with the Bayougoulas. Likewise, some of the Tioux, from the Yazoo basin and also fleeing Chickasaw slavers, sought refuge with the Bayougoulas. The Tioux and Colapissa refugees took possession of the massacred Mougoulachas' houses and fields (see Map 6). The two Englishmen abetting such unrest through Chickasaw slaving—probably Thomas Welch and Anthony Dodsworth—undoubtedly were the same ones that Iberville had hoped to have Tonti arrest.<sup>122</sup>

While at the Pascagoula town, Iberville gathered intelligence about the Choctaws, whom he had been hearing much about since his arrival on the Gulf. By 1700 the Choctaws had grown into one of the largest polities in the Gulf coastal plain, and the Pascagoulas told Iberville that they numbered at least fifty towns and 6,000 warriors. In a groundbreaking work, ethno-historian Patricia Galloway sifted through the archaeological, cartographic, documentary, linguistic, and oral evidence to reconstruct the genesis of the Choctaws. As Galloway argues, the Choctaws did not exist at the time of the Soto entrada. Rather, they formed in the crucible of contact as a solution to the new problems besetting the region with European colonization. They soon learned how to take advantage of the new opportunities as well.<sup>123</sup>

Sometime before 1700, probably in the early part of the seventeenth century, some people from the fallen chiefdoms of the Mobile-Tensaw Delta, the Tombigbee River, and the Pearl River relocated to present-day east-central Mississippi (see Map 2). During the sixteenth century, this region had served as a buffer zone and hunting reserve. Although the area had sufficient and good alluvial floodplain soils for agriculture, there were no permanent populations there (see Map 1). However, the region was not a “wilderness,” in that two major overland routes crossed through it—one that went north to south, paralleling the Mobile-Tombigbee system, and one that crossed from present-day Natchez to Mobile Bay. In other words, the region, although uninhabited, was not unknown to the people living all around it.<sup>124</sup>

During the first years of this coalescence, people settled on three watersheds that came to make up what would later be known as the Choctaw homeland. Those people associated with the Choctaw “mother mound” of their oral traditions, Nanih Waiya, were located on the headwaters of the Pearl River, and they either stayed put or moved slightly south. They sub-

sequently became known as the Western Division of Choctaws (see Maps 2 and 3). There is good evidence that the people from lower Tombigbee moved to the southwestern tributaries of the Tombigbee (the Noxubee and the Su-carnoochee Rivers) in the early seventeenth century (see Map 2). Another group from the upper Mobile-Tensaw Delta (some Pensacola culture people) also moved to this vicinity. Both groups joined to become the Eastern Division of Choctaws (see Map 3). The large, Natchez-speaking Plaquemine chiefdom centered at the Pearl Mounds site on the central Pearl River was abandoned before the time of contact and the people relocated to smaller sites. Then in the middle of the seventeenth century, some of these people moved to the upper headwaters of the Leaf River and the western branches of the Pascagoula River; these became the Sixtown Choctaws (see Maps 2 and 3). In the late seventeenth century, another group fled the Mobile Delta as it was being overrun by Alabama Indian slave raiders and moved to the Chickasawhay River to be closer to the Choctaws. They became known as the Chickasawhay Choctaws (see Maps 6 and 7).<sup>125</sup>

In 1702, during some peace negotiations, Iberville collected population estimates from Choctaw representatives. At this time, the Choctaws lived in three districts with about 1,090 households, totaling about 3,800 to 4,000 men (or about 12,000 people). Later, cartographer Guillaume Delisle transcribed a list of thirty-eight Choctaw town names that Iberville had collected from the Choctaw representatives. Galloway evaluates this list as a list of Eastern and Western Division towns, meaning either that no Sixtown and Chickasawhay representatives were at the meetings or, more likely, that the two divisions were not yet part of the Choctaws. Still, the list indicates that the Choctaws were functioning as some sort of corporate and political entity by 1702.<sup>126</sup>

The Choctaw came to comprise four divisions—the Western, Eastern, Sixtown, and Chickasawhay—and each division contained several towns and villages. Each division, however, retained their own war and peace chiefs, assistants to the chiefs, and council of elders. The divisions sometimes acted in concert, and sometimes they did not. Rather, the divisions integrated their populations through exogamous marriage patterns, thus binding the divisions together through kinship and marriage ties. In order to facilitate this, according to Galloway, two moiety divisions formed: the Imoklasha and the Inholahtha. The Imoklasha were the original inhabitants closely associated with Nanih Waiya, and the Inholahtha were all the other refugees pouring

into east-central Mississippi. According to Choctaw marriage rules, young people from one moiety could only take eligible partners from the other moiety. Such rules tended to integrate the divisions into a single, unified polity. Still, the internal political structure of the divisions tended toward decentralization, since the divisions had a “clearer political focus than the moieties.” The Choctaws successfully negotiated such internal tensions, and they consistently resisted unifying behind a centralized authority despite European efforts and the ambitions of certain Choctaw leaders to promote a single “Great Chief.” The divisions maintained their autonomy throughout the Historic Period.<sup>127</sup>

Exactly when and why the sixteenth-century chiefdoms that came to make up the Choctaws began to fall apart and the people to migrate is unknown. Undoubtedly, their demise can be attributed in part to the disruptions in the northern and eastern sectors due to Soto’s march through that area; to the early disease episodes that racked the Gulf coast and perhaps the lower Mississippi Valley regions; and, by the mid- to late seventeenth century, to the onslaught of armed slave raiders from central Alabama, northern Mississippi, and regions farther north. In fact, when Iberville first heard of the Choctaws in 1700, they constantly were worried about armed slave raiders and apparently had been for some time. While he was among the Pascagoulas, Iberville learned that the Choctaws were at war with all of the nations to the north and east of them—all of those Indian groups that were “allies of the English that are armed with muskets.”<sup>128</sup>

The Carolina traders in the mid-South by the late seventeenth century had attempted to lure the Choctaws into their trading sphere. In addition to establishing trade relations with the Chickasaws, Quapaws, Tunicas, and Natchez, traders had also approached the Choctaws about a possible alliance. The Choctaws, however, looked warily on English promises because, to them, the English only sought to promote the brutal slave trade. Iberville hoped to enlist the Choctaws as potential powerful allies in the imperial contest unfolding in the lower South. Undoubtedly, the Choctaws looked on the French in a similar way.

After Iberville returned from his foray up the Pascagoula River, he left Bienville and Saint-Denis in charge at Fort de la Boulaye and Sauvole at Fort Maurepas. He soon sailed for France, where he petitioned for additional supplies and support for the establishment of a more secure fort and colony. Iberville’s third and final voyage to the Gulf coast also signaled an intensifi-

cation of the European contest over the American South. The shatter zone was already creeping westward, and hundreds of Native lives and dozens of Native polities were being disrupted because of it. Now, European imperial ambitions would become entangled with the commercial Indian slave trade, and the result, as historian Alan Gallay so aptly described, was a “frenzy of slaving” throughout the South.<sup>129</sup>



## CHAPTER 7

### *European Imperialism and the Intensification of the Colonial Indian Slave Trade, ca. 1700–1710*

Iberville set sail from France for the Gulf coast on his third and last voyage in 1701. That same year, a Franco-Spanish pact in Europe had resulted in the War of Spanish Succession, with France and Spain allied against England, Portugal, and the Netherlands. By 1702 the war had moved into the North American theater, where it became known as Queen Anne's War. The Indian slave trade up to this point had been largely a commercial venture, controlled by Indian middlemen and militarized slaving societies. And although frowned upon by colonial authorities, traders often instigated and fomented Indian wars in order to keep the supply of slaves flowing into Carolina. The competition between France, England, and Spain for the American South escalated after news of the voyages of La Salle and Iberville circulated into European courts, and as it did so, the system of warfare and slaving already in place became linked to the imperial aims and wars of European rivals.

The frontier imperial strategy was straightforward. None of the imperial powers had enough settlers or military personnel at their beachheads of empire to oversee the vast territories they each claimed. They understood Native allies to be essential tools in defending their claims against other European rivals, patrolling their borders, and taking swift actions against any incursions. Attracting Native allies was done primarily through the lure of the trade, gift giving, and especially the availability of European-manufactured guns and ammunition. The Indian slave trade, of course, had now made guns a necessity and, as we have seen, once the monopolies of the Westos and Occaneechis were broken, other Indian groups were ready participants in the trade. Europeans took advantage of the dependency to intervene in Indian foreign

affairs by designating who a group could and could not make war against. The formula was basically this: in order to maintain an open trade, any particular Indian group was compelled to war and raid against only Indians allied with a European rival. For example, English-allied Indians were not to war against English-allied Indians, nor, by law, could they sell English-allied captives on the English slave mart. The same laws were later enacted in French Louisiana. In reality, these laws were only weakly defined around imperial rivalries, and in both cases the laws were halfheartedly enforced.<sup>1</sup>

When Queen Anne's War erupted, however, the imperial aims of England became strongly tied to that of the commercial slave trade, and the result was an intensification of and political and military purposefulness to slaving. In other words, the conflicts during Queen Anne's War were not simply military tactics; they were also brutal slaving expeditions, as Indian mercenaries and English slave traders stood to gain much economically while at the same time advancing the territorial boundaries of Carolina. With France making inroads into the Mississippi Valley, England had taken notice and sent her scouts deep into the interior in the hopes of winning Native allies through an expanded trade system—hence the journeys of Couture, Welch, and Dodsworth, to name a few. Because of their geographic location on the Upper Trade Path and their willingness to engage with the English, the Chickasaws would play a pivotal role after 1702.

As trouble brewed in Europe over the alliance between France and Spain, Iberville reported to his superiors on his explorations along the coast and up the Mississippi River. They determined that he should establish a fort at Mobile Bay, close to the Spanish presidio at Pensacola. This would not only provide additional protection from western incursions by the English but would also provide an inland water route to the large interior groups, such as the Mobilians, Tohomés, Chickasaws, Alabamas, Tallapoosas, and especially the Choctaws. Iberville's plan—which was to promote peace between the Indians throughout French Louisiana and enlist them as allies against the English—depended on good access to the interior and easy transport of goods and people between the French colony and the interior Indian towns.<sup>2</sup>

Upon returning to the Gulf coast, Iberville first harbored at the Pensacola Spanish fort. While convalescing from a wound, he heard that Sauvole, as well as many of the men stationed at Fort Maurepas, had died; Bienville had stepped in as commandant of the fort. Iberville began issuing orders from his sick bed to Bienville and other officers about building a fort at Mobile Bay. The French crown had thrown much support behind the Mobile Bay project,

and the subsequent Fort Louis was several standards above the frontier posts of Fort Maurepas and Fort de la Boulaye. Fort Louis was built on a bluff on the eastern bank of the river about fifty miles from its embouchement into the Gulf of Mexico (see Map 7). A bustling French colonial town called Mobile (named after their Mobilian neighbors) sprang up around the fort, and many of the early explorers, such as Tonti, Levassuer, and Pénigault, took up residence there. A small port on Dauphine Island served as a point of entry for the colony for two decades. The location of Mobile, however, would later prove to be too far from Port Dauphine and too swampy, and in 1711 the residents relocated to the head of Mobile Bay.<sup>3</sup>

With Fort Louis well under way, Iberville turned his attentions to forging Indian alliances. After Iberville settled Fort Louis, at Mobile Bay in 1702, the Mobilians and Tohomés readily entered into a close friendship with the French, which is no surprise since they were besieged by Chickasaw, Alabama, and Tallapoosa slavers. Obviously, proximity to the French would have afforded some protection from slavers, as well as access to guns and ammunition. The Mobilians and Tohomés, too, began trading in slaves on a small scale with local French men and women. In retaliation, the Alabamas were a particular target for their slaving campaigns. In 1702 Iberville enlisted Henri de Tonti, now stationed at Fort Louis, to establish a truce between the Alabamas and Tohomé in the hopes of making inroads with the interior groups. The venture ended in failure, and the raiding between them did not abate.<sup>4</sup>

Just before Iberville had arrived on the Mobile River, a delegation of Mobilians and Choctaws had journeyed to Fort Maurepas asking for assistance in their war against the Chickasaws. Instead of aiding them, Iberville's strategy was to break the Chickasaw-English trade alliance and then promote peaceful relations among the three Indian groups, as well as among the many other Indians that the Chickasaws were now raiding as enemies. To that end, he sent Bienville to reassure the Mobilians and Tohomés of French support, and he once again enlisted Tonti to travel to the Choctaws and Chickasaws to persuade representatives from both polities to travel to Fort Louis for a peace conference.<sup>5</sup>

The two letters that Tonti wrote Iberville while on this expedition contain much ethnographic information, but Tonti also wrote explicit directions on his route to and from the Chickasaw towns, giving us some idea of the social and physical landscape between roughly present-day Mobile and Tupelo.<sup>6</sup> Most important for us, Tonti met one of the English slavers among the

Chickasaws, and he gives crucial information on the slave trade and how the Chickasaws conducted slave raids.

Upon receiving his assignment in late winter of 1702, Tonti went to Tohomé with ten Frenchmen, and there he engaged two Mobilians, two Tohomés, and one Choctaw “chief” to make the journey to Chickasaw country. For helping Tonti, each Indian would receive a gun, along with powder and balls. Tonti anticipated a difficult negotiation with the Chickasaws, and he reasoned that the Mobilians and Tohomés, and especially the Choctaw man, could guarantee safe passage for any Chickasaw emissaries since they would have to travel through enemy territory to reach Mobile. Tonti’s first letter, written from a Choctaw village, confirmed what the surrounding Indians had been telling Iberville: the Choctaws were a large and numerous group. Ethnohistorian Patricia Galloway, through a close analysis of the letters and the distances Tonti recorded in them, concludes that as early as 1702, the Choctaws already had been forced to cluster into a relatively small area, and they kept their borders protected by stationing and provisioning small, fortified towns along them. She also understands the Chakchiuma town that Tonti referenced to indicate that the Chakchiumas managed a buffer zone between their main towns on the upper Yazoo River and the Tombigbee River; this buffer zone separated the Choctaws from the Chickasaws. Tonti heard that one of the Choctaw border fortifications was chronically harassed by Chickasaw, Conchaque (Abihka), and Alabama enemies. This was important information for Tonti, and he reasoned that if he could get the Chickasaws to agree to a French alliance, the Abihkas and Alabamas would follow suit. Tonti described the Choctaws as living in dispersed homesteads and farming the bottomlands. He thought them “rather handsome,” and they reminded him of the Natchez—the latter most likely a reference to their physical appearance than to any chiefdomlike attributes. The Choctaws, as an emergent coalescent society, had long abandoned their chiefdom organization.<sup>7</sup> The Choctaws undoubtedly had word of Iberville’s intentions before Tonti arrived in their midst, and the Choctaw leaders who met Tonti welcomed the French overtures. Choctaw representatives had already sought out the French as potential allies against the Chickasaws and other English-armed slavers, so it should not be surprising that they would be satisfied that Iberville hoped to make a peace between them and the Chickasaws.<sup>8</sup>

According to Tonti, while en route from the Choctaw village to the Chickasaw towns, his Indian guides were surprised to discover the tracks of some Chickasaws in the vicinity. Upon this discovery, they altered their

route and took the expedition in a more circuitous way to the Chickasaw towns in order to avoid this war party. About three leagues from the first Chickasaw town, they heard a shot. Tonti sent someone to investigate, and he returned with a Chickasaw man who informed them that there were two raiding parties in the area. One party, apparently a group of scouts, consisted of about ten warriors. The other party consisted of 400 Chickasaw and Chakchiuma warriors and an Englishman who were out to raid the Choc-taws. Hearing the news, Tonti believed that his mission was doomed.<sup>9</sup>

This brief glimpse at an Indian slave raid gives us some information about how they were conducted. From information that Tonti later gathered, we can see that on a slave raid, a large group would break into smaller groups, attack a village, kill the men, and abduct the women and children. These victims were then bound with the infamous slave cords, which were cords designed to go around the neck and strangle a person if he or she attempted to escape. They were then taken to a holding pen or barracks until enough had been accumulated to send to Carolina.<sup>10</sup>

Despite the raiders in the area, Chickasaw leaders were interested in parlaying with the French, and when Tonti reached their first town, the expedition was greeted without hostility. Tonti was escorted to the mico's cabin, where he was startled and quite angered to find an Englishman seated on cane mats with the mico. In Tonti's words: "The chief was seated there & an Englishman that I had trouble recognizing for one. He was seated holding a gun in his hand and a saber at his side. He had on a rather dirty blue shirt, no pants, stockings, or shoes, a scarlet wool blanket and some discs at his neck like a savage." Tonti never gives the names of either this Englishman or the one with the raiding party, but the fact that they spoke Shawnee would indicate that they came from Carolina, since Shawnee was used as a trade lingua franca in that area. The men most likely were Thomas Welch and Anthony Dodsworth, the two Goose Creek Men who had made first recorded English contact with the Chickasaws in 1698, opened the Upper Trade Path, and had apparently been canvassing much of the lower South since their arrival.<sup>11</sup>

Tonti's interaction with this Englishman was antagonistic and curt. When the Englishman asked Tonti if he could speak Shawnee (apparently hoping to have a private conversation with him), Tonti coldly replied, through a translator, that he had come to see the Chickasaw mico on behalf of Iberville and "that since I knew him [the Englishman] by reputation for a wretch that he had better not make any speech against us, that if I noticed it he would be sorry." The Englishman then asked why Tonti thought so poorly of him.

Tonti answered that he knew about his efforts to have Father Davion killed; the Englishman denied any involvement in that affair. Tonti continued, saying “that he [the Englishman] was having all these nations destroyed in order to obtain slaves and that he ought to be sated with human flesh.” The Englishman denied that he was instigating any wars and explained that the Chickasaws merely brought him war captives that they would have taken in their war exploits anyway. To this, Tonti asked the pointed question as to “why his comrade was leading 400 warriors.”<sup>12</sup> The Englishman refrained from answering.

Tonti’s scornful retort indicates only too clearly that everyone involved understood the frontier strategy of setting one Indian nation against another in order to obtain slaves. The Englishman’s assertion that the Indians made their own wars and that he merely took advantage of such hostilities to purchase captives was, of course, disingenuous. In a later episode, when the Chickasaw mico threatened to expel the Englishman, the trader was back to his old tricks and simply replied that if expelled, he would go to the Abihkas and “invite them to destroy the Chicacha.”<sup>13</sup>

The next day, Tonti continued his talks with the Chickasaw mico. The Choctaw mico who had accompanied him spoke first, but Tonti clearly states that this mico represented only his town and not all of the Choctaws. In the gift-giving convention of Indian negotiations, Tonti gave the Chickasaw mico a gun, some powder and balls, and some knives. Apparently, Tonti was having some problems convincing the Chickasaw leaders to travel to Mobile. Tonti thought this was due to translation problems. Luckily, an Illinois man was at the town, and since Tonti spoke Illinois, this man could more effectively translate for the Frenchman. After deliberating, five “of the most notable” Chickasaw men decided to accompany Tonti to Mobile.<sup>14</sup>

The party traveling to Mobile—which consisted of Tonti and his French and Indian companions, the five Chickasaw “notables,” two burden bearers (*louez*), and three Chickasaw women—departed the next day, but they only traveled four and a half leagues before being stopped by drenching rains. While the party was encamped, one of the warriors informed Tonti that a young Choctaw boy had been taken into captivity by some Chickasaw warriors. The next series of events bespeaks to the infiltration of imperial rivalries in everyday life and the nature of the relationship between the Englishmen and the Chickasaws. Upon learning about the young Choctaw, and wanting to avert any potential derailment of the peace process, Tonti insisted to the Chickasaw mico that the young boy be returned, adding that once they got

to Mobile, Iberville would pay as much for the boy as the Englishman had offered. The mico then went personally to retrieve the slave, who was now in the hands of the Englishman. The English slaver already had a “cabin full of slaves” who, according to Tonti, he regularly abused. When the Englishman was cutting the young slave’s cords, the mico “snatched him from his hands.” The Englishman, enraged, threatened to leave the Chickasaws. The mico, however, did not bend to English will, and he replied “get out; that the French had only one mouth & that he [the Englishman] had two; that he made them kill every day in order to get slaves, that the French only wanted skins & peace with all nations.”<sup>15</sup>

Obviously, this Chickasaw leader was not to be pressured. He also obviously recognized the benefits of what has come to be known as the “pay-off system,” wherein Indian leaders never gave ironclad agreements to any imperial entity and instead played one European power off another, thereby gaining the best trade agreements and other concessions from European negotiators. As the exchange between the Chickasaw mico and the Englishman suggests, Tonti may have overestimated the English trader’s influence. Earlier, while at the Chickasaw town, Tonti had noticed that the Englishman received a good portion of the gifts he had given the Chickasaw mico, and he concluded that he held an undue influence in the town. Rather than tribute, though, what Tonti was witnessing was probably the slave-trade credit system at work. The Englishman was likely collecting his payment for giving guns, ammunition, blankets, and other items on credit. These pieces of admittedly slight evidence suggest that, although the English and French were by now well-established colonial entities in the American South, and the Chickasaws depended on free access to trade in order to obtain guns and ammunition, the balance of power was still in Indian hands.<sup>16</sup>

The mico’s distinction between the French and English commodities deserves some attention. Although, as we have seen, the skin trade was always a component of the early English trade system, the commodity most in demand by English traders at this time was slaves. Traders in New France also bought and sold Indian slaves, but the scale was considerably smaller than that of the English. This is not to say that Indians within the territorial boundaries of New France did not enter into the commercial Indian slave trade; they most certainly did. However, these Indians sold most of their slaves to English rather than French buyers. Still, census records from French Louisiana and Canada indicate that hundreds of Indian slaves labored in French households. A 1708 census, for example, listed 279 people in French

Louisiana, eighty (over 28 percent) of whom were Indian slaves. Most, but not all, of these Indian slaves were taken from places distant to the Gulf coast. The French in Louisiana hoped to limit French slaving, because such promises as the one made by Tonti to the Chickasaw mico held sway among Indians beleaguered by slaving. The Chickasaws, who were more slaver than victim at this time, were still taking considerable losses in slaving expeditions, and their leaders took note of Tonti's offer because it afforded some relief from the cycle of slaving.<sup>17</sup>

After rescuing the young Choctaw slave, Tonti's party continued on. During the next night's encampment, however, they heard of more trouble. This time, the large slaving party that was roaming the area had gone to a Chakchiuma town. From there, a small party had attacked a Choctaw town, killing three men and taking captive all the women and children of one household. This small raid, however, had compromised their element of surprise, and the large party had afterward retreated. The raid alarmed the five Chickasaw headmen who were with Tonti, and, fearful of revenge as they passed through Choctaw country, they wanted to return home. Tonti, mustering all of his frontier diplomatic skills, carefully explained that he had been sent to bring them to meet Iberville and that this was their opportunity to make an alliance with the French, who would supply them with plentiful gifts and good trade. Tonti sternly warned the Chickasaws that if they turned back, the French "would not go any longer among them" but would supply the Choctaws with guns and powder, and that the two nations would destroy each other, after which "the English would come then to take the rest." As a measure for their security, Tonti promised a French escort back to Chickasaw country from Mobile. He also promised that Iberville would send boats loaded with merchandise up the Mobile and Tombigbee Rivers to their towns. Reassured, the headmen agreed to continue to Mobile. The subsequent stop at a Choctaw town must have been reassuring as well, since the Choctaw headmen there received the Chickasaw headmen in peace, and both parties expressed satisfaction with the French efforts to secure a peace between them. Three Choctaw headmen joined the party there, and all arrived at Mobile on March 25, 1702.<sup>18</sup>

The records of this meeting between Tonti and the Chickasaw mico provide the first detailed look at Native leadership among the Chickasaws since the Mississippi Period. First, it should be quite obvious that in neither the Choctaw nor Chickasaw case was there a *grand cacique*, or paramount mico over all the people. Unlike Soto, Tonti was not met by a mico carried on the



shoulders of his principal men. Nor was he regaled with lavish gifts, elaborate greeting ceremonies, and visits from dignitaries. Instead, what we see is a single “chief,” seated with an Englishman, greeting Tonti. The mico was not attended by a retinue, and he did not hold coercive power. In fact, he traveled with five other “notables,” who were probably part of a town council. Although Tonti did not leave us this Chickasaw mico’s name, later documents suggest that he may have been Oboystabee, the war captain of the Chickasaws. As we have seen, precontact Mississippian polities likely had an office of war captain, but here we see that this office had greatly expanded, filling perhaps some of the political void left when the chiefdom political order faltered. Something about the sociopolitical structure of the Choctaws, too, can be gleaned from Tonti’s letters. The three Choctaws who took on the diplomatic mission most likely represent the “chiefs” or micos of each division. When one of them explained to the Chickasaws that he could only speak for his “town,” he likely meant that he could not speak for the other divisions. This is an important point, because it would indicate that, although each of the divisions was part of a whole, each nonetheless maintained autonomy.<sup>19</sup>

The next morning, after the party had arrived in Mobile, Iberville, in a gesture meant to impress, laid out all the gifts he had for the emissaries: 200 livres of powder, 200 livres of bullets, 200 livres of game shot, 12 guns, 100 axes, 150 knives, some kettles, glass beads, gun flints, awls, and other hardware. In Iberville’s words, the whole “made a considerable present indeed.” The peace party then assembled, which, according to Pénigault, also included representatives from Mobila, Tohomé, and Little Tohomé. Using Bienville as an interpreter, Iberville addressed the assembly. Iberville applauded the Natives’ engaging in the peace process and enumerated the many benefits that would accrue from a Chickasaw-Choctaw peace—not the least of which was that they would not be destroyed by the English instigation of warfare for slaves. As proof of the English’s sinister designs to destroy the Chickasaws through the slave trade, Iberville pointed to the fact that the English, who he characterized as liking nothing “except blood and slaves,” had also enslaved and sold to West Indies traders many Chickasaws who had been captured by Chickasaw enemies. He then tabulated Chickasaw losses since these wars for slaves had begun. In just a few years, with only thirty guns provided by the English, Chickasaw slavers had taken more than 500 prisoners and killed more than 1,800 Choctaws. Iberville pointed out that although they may have gained some profit from selling the 500 captives, it also cost them more than 800 Chickasaw warriors who had lost their lives in the raids. Iberville summed

up the English designs for them: "And the ultimate plan of the Englishman, after weakening you by means of wars, is to come and seize you in your villages and then send you to be sold somewhere else, in faraway countries from which you can never return." Iberville's estimate of Chickasaw losses may be exaggerated; still, the fact that the Chickasaws would tolerate a high number of deaths caused by slave trading illustrates the lure of the trade, especially of guns and ammunition.<sup>20</sup>

Iberville then issued an ultimatum. If the Chickasaws did not expel the English among them, he would arm the Choctaws, Mobilians, Tohomés, Natchez, and others and would brand the Chickasaws as enemies. In addition, he would not protect them from the Illinois but would actually incite the latter to attack them. If, on the other hand, the Chickasaws turned away from the English, Iberville promised to build a trade house between the Chickasaw and Choctaw towns and fill it with "all kinds of goods to be bartered for skins of buffalo, deer, and bear—those are the slaves I want." This kind of trade, Iberville reminded them, would not cost them their lives, as did the slave trade. The Chickasaw headmen listened to Iberville's speech and agreed to ask the Englishmen to leave their towns, but only if the French accepted some of their stipulations regarding the trade, specifically the prices. With that issue satisfied, the Chickasaw delegation entered into a trade partnership with the French and agreed to make peace with not only the Choctaws but all of the French-allied Indians. Iberville also made good on Tonti's promise about the young boy, paying the Chickasaw mico a gun, a blanket, a hooded cloak, an ax, two knives, and some powder and bullets for him. He then dispensed gifts to all of the headmen assembled, who were to keep some of them and divide the rest among their constituents at home. He also sent a young French boy, Saint-Michel, who earlier had been stationed among the Houmas, with the Chickasaw delegation in order to learn their language. Iberville then promised that French troops would escort the Chickasaws back to their homes, after which the troops would continue on to Illinois country to retrieve some Chickasaw slaves there and to instruct the Illinois to cease attacks against the Chickasaws, as they were now in the French alliance. He promised to dispatch similar messages to the Natchez and Quapaws.<sup>21</sup>

In turn, Iberville asked the Chickasaws to persuade the Abihkas and Alabamas to make peace with the Mobilians, Tohomés, and Choctaws. For some reason, Iberville told the Chickasaw delegates that if the Abihkas and Alabamas did not adhere to this request, he would arm the Apalachees against them, which he "had so far prevented." This was more a bluff than a

true threat, since Iberville held no sway over the Apalachees, who were tied strongly to the Spanish missions at this time. Finally, Iberville took a count of Choctaw and Chickasaw towns. According to this count, the Choctaws lived in three townships (or districts), with 1,090 households and three to four men per household, totaling about 3,800 to 4,000 men. The Chickasaws lived in 580 households, with three to four males over the age of eighteen per household, totaling at least 2,000 gun men. Iberville also noted that of these, 700 to 800 owned guns.<sup>22</sup>

Iberville departed for France soon after this peace negotiation, leaving his brother Bienville in command of Fort Louis and the colony. By all accounts, Iberville left French Louisiana satisfied that he had accomplished all he had hoped to accomplish. The construction of Fort Louis was well under way; a colonial town was taking shape; he had secured good relations with the local Natives; and he had brought the Chickasaws over to the French, and in so doing he had begun establishing a peace throughout French Louisiana with Indian allies who would stand between South Carolina and the Mississippi River. He also left written instructions with Bienville on keeping the peace and establishing an interior fort, which would go far in maintaining French relations with the Chickasaws—something he understood to be essential to the peace of the interior. He also harbored hopes that the Abihkas, Alabamas, and Tallapoosas could be swayed to break their trade ties with the English in favor of ties with the French. Iberville sailed back to France to commission supplies for the colony, to enlist colonists, and to generally secure France's commitment to the project. While there, he even found time to annotate the "Projet sur la Caroline," a treatise on how best to stem English advances in the South and secure and expand French Louisiana. Soon, however, Iberville was swept up in larger events surrounding the War of Spanish Succession as it unfolded in the Caribbean front. He would never return to Mobile.<sup>23</sup>

Back in Mobile, within two years of Iberville's departure and despite Bienville's considerable frontier skills, Iberville's accomplishments began to unravel. Internal colonial rivalries beset and undermined Bienville at every turn. Supplies at the colony soon ran seriously low, and the French began to rely heavily on their Mobila and Tohomé neighbors to keep them fed, straining those relations. The promised fort among the Chickasaws never materialized due to a lack of funds. Bienville knew how fragile relations with Indians could be—after all he was a seasoned Canadian frontiersman—and he was careful to use what resources he had to cultivate and maintain good relations with local groups. For example, when Louis Juchereau de Saint-Denis, the

commandant at Fort de la Boulaye, and some Canadians launched a slave raid against the Chitimachas, Bienville took stern measures. He ordered the Frenchmen to return the captives and severely reprimanded Saint-Denis, a close friend and confidant, for his blundering actions. Bienville could ill afford to antagonize the Gulf coast Indians since he depended on them for foodstuffs and other supplies. Plus, he needed to keep the French promise that they did not traffic in slaves to attract the larger groups of Indians away from the English.<sup>24</sup>

With Bienville now carefully nursing to life an ailing colony, the English in South Carolina responded to the news of the founding of Mobile and the French and Indian alliances with urgency, and they took advantage of the outbreak of Queen Anne's War to attempt an aggressive assertion of English imperial aims in the South. In the Northeast, Queen Anne's War was largely fought between England and English-allied Indians against France and French-allied Indians, but in the South, the hostilities became intertwined with the Indian slave trade. The most blatant example of such occurred when Governor James Moore, one of the South Carolina Goose Creek Men and a notorious slaver who had been appointed as interim governor, gathered Indian and English forces for an offensive to drive the Spanish out of La Florida, thus making way for a push to the Mississippi River. This also inaugurated a series of debilitating slave raids into La Florida that would destroy the mission system within only a few years.

South Carolinians had turned their attention to securing their interior alliances the year that Iberville established Mobile. The South Carolina government first solicited reassurances from those Indians closest to them, especially the Yamasees, whom they understood to be a buffer between Carolina and Spanish Florida. At the same time, the trade in skins took a sudden and deep dip in the market, creating ever more debt problems and credit stress between Carolina traders and their Indian partners. The Yamasees had long complained of their spiraling debts to the traders and the underhanded tactics of many traders to cheat them out of their due. They demanded that the Carolina government get control over their traders.<sup>25</sup> Carolina officials also became especially concerned about French influences with the Talapoosas. In 1701 the South Carolina House of Assembly commissioned Colonel Stephen Bull to journey to the Talapoosas (and possibly the Alabamas) to reaffirm their trade agreements. Later that year, Governor Moore urged the assembly to "think of some way" to ensure a Tallapoosa-English alliance and to be wary of French machinations with them. They settled on instituting Indian

trade regulations designed to regulate Indian debt and to quell the abuses by the traders and their hirelings.<sup>26</sup>

Carolina officials also stepped up their courting of the Alabamas, who lived just upriver from Mobile, and they hoped to intercede in the French efforts to woo the Alabamas. In May 1702, just a few months after the Mobile peace talks with the Chickasaws and Choctaws, eight Alabama headmen arrived in Mobile to consult with Bienville. In all likelihood, the Chickasaws had carried out Iberville's request to send word to the Alabamas that the French leaders would like to meet with them, for the Alabama team also had word of the French desire to negotiate a peace between them and the Mobilians, Tohomés, and Choctaws. Bienville, naturally, promoted peace between the groups and gave the Alabama headmen gifts to secure their word. He also showed them the French stockpile of guns and ammunition so as to impress them with French armaments. On October 1 of the same year, forty Alabama headmen returned to Mobile. They smoked the calumet with Bienville and promised peace between themselves and the Choctaws, Pensacolas, and Apalachees. Despite such displays, Bienville overestimated his influence with the Alabamas. The Alabamas, undoubtedly, were engaging in the play-off strategy, playing the French against the English. Later events show them to have found more opportunity with the English when, perhaps spurred on by English intrigues, they betrayed Bienville, an event that threw the French into a prolonged war with them and stressed the colony considerably.<sup>27</sup>

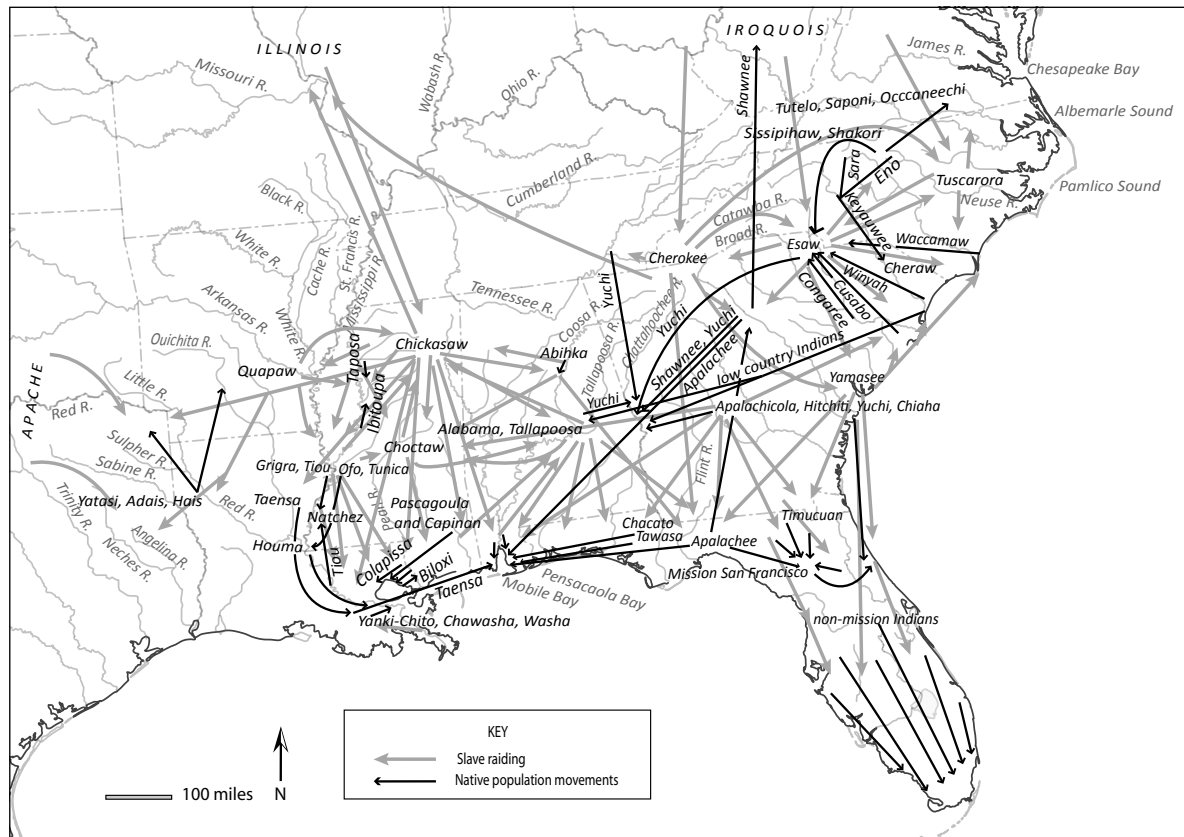
In 1702 English-allied Hitchiti warriors on the Ocmulgee River also assaulted and nearly destroyed the Timucuan mission of Santa Fé. This assault was one of many and highlights the deteriorating relations between the Indians on the Ocmulgee River and the mission Indians. Recall that most of the Apalachicolas, Hitchitis, and Yuchis living on the Chattahoochee had moved to the Ocmulgee River after their altercation with Matheos. Their Ocmulgee location gave them closer access not only to Carolina and the traders but also to the mission Indians of La Florida (see Map 7). As soon as they arrived at the Ocmulgee, they, along with the Yamasees, began a series of relentless slaving campaigns against the mission Indians of La Florida that lasted for years (Map 8). In fact, a map drawn in 1711 by Thomas Nairne shows a direct route from the Ocmulgee straight to the heart of Timucuan country. Nairne labeled it simply "Road of the Ochese going to war with the Floridians." He also labeled the St. John's River as the place "where the carolina Indians leave their canoes when they go to war against Floridians."<sup>28</sup> The Timucuan missions had especially suffered during this time, and by 1702 the once-sprawling

Timucuan mission system had contracted to only two fortified and garrisoned missions: Santa Fé and San Francisco. After the attack on Santa Fé, the crippled mission was absorbed into the San Francisco mission, leaving only this one mission among the Timucuan (see Map 8).<sup>29</sup>

Although the slave raids strained relationships between the Ochese Creeks on the Ocmulgee River and the mission Indians, the two managed to resume a small-scale trade. Around the turn of the century, the Ochese Creeks negotiated some sort of peace or trade treaty with the Apalachees. Spanish authorities, however, were cautious of this development and interfered by placing bans on the purchase of any English items, especially cloth and guns, and likewise on the sale of silver, horses, and other items by La Florida Indians. The Apalachicolas resented these restrictions and, in 1702, apparently in protest, tortured and killed three Apalachees who had come to their towns. The 1702 raid on Santa Fé, coupled with the killings of the three Apalachees, prompted Apalachee and Spanish authorities to take stern action. Later that fall, Apalachee military leaders with a small Spanish force led by Captain Francisco Romo de Uriza initiated a retaliatory raid with 800 Apalachee, Timucua, and Chacato warriors. Half of the force was slaughtered or enslaved at the Flint River when they were met with a surprise attack by gun-toting Apalachicola warriors on a slaving expedition with Carolina trader Anthony Dodsworth.<sup>30</sup>

This event only portended bigger troubles looming for the mission Indians and the Spanish. By November 1702 Governor Moore was poised to make a dramatic drive into the heart of the Spanish colony—St. Augustine—and enlisted Carolina Indian slaving allies, mostly Yamasees, to comprise his large force of 500 Carolinians and 300 Indians. Moore's reputation as a ruthless slaver hampered his lobbying of the Carolina government for funds, as his opponents suspected him of promoting a pillaging expedition rather than any real strategic move to protect the colony. The Carolina Assembly unanimously agreed to fund him nonetheless. En route to St. Augustine, Moore and his forces took the opportunity to raze the remaining missions in Guale and Mocama and then managed to lay siege to St. Augustine. The siege soon ended when two Spanish men-of-war sailed within view of the presidio; the Carolina forces withdrew by December. They took with them 500 Indian captives to sell on the Indian slave mart in Charlestown, giving credence to Moore's detractors, who concluded that the whole escapade was done solely for "their beloved Exercise of Plundering, and Slave-catching."<sup>31</sup>

The Apalachee missions, spared somewhat from the slaving campaigns



against Guale, Mocama, and the Timucuan chiefdoms, now came directly under the guns of Carolina-allied Indian slave raiders. Soon after the failure of the St. Augustine expedition, some English and Indian forces assaulted the mission towns of San José de Ocuia, Patali, and San Francisco, although exactly who was involved in the assault was not recorded. An organized Carolina campaign against Apalachee soon followed, led by Sir Nathaniel Johnson, a friend and ally of Moore who took the lead in these expansionist goals after Moore was widely discredited due to his failure at St. Augustine. Getting the go-ahead from the Carolina government, Johnson and his friend Moore engineered an ambitious plan to not only destroy Spanish Florida but also to enslave thousands of Indians. This time, Moore set his sights on the Apalachee missions and Indian towns. Moore, appointed to lead the expedition by Johnson, once again enlisted Indian allies to make up the majority of his forces. Convening at Ocmulgee, Moore assembled fifty Carolinians and 1,000 Indian troops. The Indian groups represented in this are somewhat garbled in the documentary evidence, but warriors from Cherokee, Coweta, Tallapoosa, Abihka, Alabama, Apalachicola, and Yamasee are usually identified as being in the force. The Chiscas, who had moved to the Tallapoosa River after the Spanish and Apalachee had expelled them from La Florida and who had been bitter enemies of the Apalachicolas at least since 1686, joined forces with the Apalachicolas at the Ocmulgee River to raid the Florida Indians—testimony to the shifting nature of alliances at this time. The Chickasaws apparently did not participate.<sup>32</sup>

Within days, the large force first fell on Ayubale, then it marched through the whole of Apalachee, sacking one town after the other. The Apalachees were fearless fighters, but they simply could not overcome the number of Moore's force and their superior firepower. The Apalachee warriors had only a few guns, and the forts throughout Spanish Florida had been chronically ill provisioned and poorly defended by a struggling Spanish military force contending with the War of Spanish Succession. They were no match for a Carolina and Indian force armed with guns. To make matters worse, Apalachee warriors became severely demoralized within days of the outbreak of hostilities because they could see that their forces and armaments were inferior to those of Carolina and that the Spanish were ineffectual allies.<sup>33</sup>

MAP 8 (opposite) Slave Raiding and Some Indian Population Movements, ca. 1700–1715 (Note: the grey arrows represent generalized patterns, while the black arrows represent discrete movements of populations with varying degrees of certainty.)



The campaign, which lasted almost two years, was especially brutal, as Moore's Indian allies demonstrated their ferocity in warfare by torturing, burning alive, mutilating, and even skinning alive many of the warriors, Spanish soldiers, and missionaries they captured. Many in Apalachee fought to the death. Many, however, defected and joined the assaulting forces. At least two towns surrendered to the invaders before a shot was fired, and those at San Luis openly contemplated joining the Carolinians. One caveat to the invasion as drafted by the Carolina Assembly was that Johnson and Moore should use this opportunity to persuade as many Apalachees as possible to move closer to Carolina. Moore apparently offered this as an option to some of his Indian captives; the other option was enslavement. Afterward, a group of 300 men and 1,000 women and children relocated to the vicinity of Savannah Town on the Savannah River (see Map 8). Most of the Apalachee captives, however, were taken as war booty and later sold as slaves in Carolina. The most thorough accounting put the number of Florida Indians taken into captivity and subsequently enslaved between 2,000 and 4,000, with the higher number being the probable estimate. Those who escaped fled Apalachee. A group of 800 Apalachees from San Luis and Escambé, as well as a few Chacatos and Yamasees still living in Apalachee, struck out west, seeking refuge with the French in Mobile. The remaining inhabitants of Apalachee, those at Ivitachuco, retreated eastward to St. Augustine (see Map 8). The Carolina forces then turned to complete the destruction of the Timucuans. Almost the entire ranching and farming operations of the Spanish colonists were also wiped out. The Pensacola fort held on only by a slender thread. The Apalachee and Timucuan missions, along with the Spanish colony, which had weathered many historical winds for over a hundred years, were gone.<sup>34</sup>

The fate of the Florida Indians, perhaps more than any other Indians in the South, demonstrates the destructive power of a trade in enslaved peoples coupled with imperial ambitions. Within only a few years, the Florida mission system, which incorporated over 25,000 Indians at its height, was destroyed. Terrorized survivors took shelter in a few refugee missions and at St. Augustine, where they remained under assault for several more years. With the mission Indians reduced to such straits, the Carolina-allied Indian slavers penetrated into central Florida, pushing the nonmission Indians all the way to the Florida Keys (see Map 8). Here, in small refugee camps, they awaited rescuing to Cuba by Spanish ships. Between 1706 and 1711, almost all of these Indians were evacuated to Cuba. The whole of Spanish Florida,

once one of the most populous regions in the American South, was virtually depopulated and mostly empty. All that remained was a small remnant of Indians and Spanish at St. Augustine. In the late eighteenth century, break-away Creek groups and runaway African slaves would colonize this region as the Seminoles.<sup>35</sup>

With the Spanish and their Indian allies now defeated, Carolina turned its full attention to ousting the French. To this end, as promulgated by the Goose Creek Men, Carolina authorities and traders began to court even more heavily the interior groups of Tallapoosas, Abihkas, Okfuskees, Alabamas, and Chickasaws. Bienville and the French at Mobile understood that, with the Spanish debilitated, they stood toe-to-toe with the English. Still, Bienville, secure that his alliances with the Choctaws and the Chickasaws would hold, was not yet panicked. Had he had better intelligence, Bienville would have been quite worried, since between 1703 and 1710, English traders worked tirelessly to enlist Indian slave traders and set them against French-allied Indians. The result was a total escalation of slaving throughout present-day Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana.

Relations between the Alabamas and French had never solidified into an alliance, and in 1703, only one year after they had sung the calumet with Bienville, the Alabamas instigated a reversal when English trader Thomas Nairne came to the Indian towns in present-day central Alabama to enlist them in a trade alliance. In a talk with Alabama, Coushatta, Tallapoosa, and Abihka micos, Nairne pointed to the recent English successes against the Spanish, to the superior and more numerous European-made items to which they could have access, to the English goals of ousting the French, and to the fact that the French were arming their enemies—the Choctaws and Chickasaws—to go against them. The micos responded with a requisition for “a drum, a stand of colors, and the right to buy ammunition to be used against the French.” Alabama raiders soon after swooped down the Mobile River to attack Mobila, Tohomé, Little Tohomé, and the Pensacola town (see Map 8). Then, in the winter of 1704, English traders among the Alabamas either persuaded or abetted them in completing the rupture with the French through an elaborate subterfuge. Two Alabama micos, one named Deer’s Foot, led an envoy to Mobile to ostensibly notify Bienville that they had asked the English to leave their towns and that the traders had moved to the Ocmulgee River. They also offered a great provision of corn, something of which the colony was in desperate need. Bienville, although cautious, assigned five Frenchmen to follow Deer’s Foot and the others back to the Alabama towns to retrieve

the corn. En route, the Alabama men turned on their French companions, killing three out of the five.<sup>36</sup>

With this open breach of relations, Bienville understood he had to retaliate, lest the Indians think the French weak. He immediately decreed a bounty on any Alabama scalp that any Indians brought to Fort Louis. He also issued a call to his Indian allies for a punitive expedition and was met with a force of Mobilian, Tohomé, Little Tohomé, Pensacola, Pascagoula, and Choctaw warriors—groups who had all suffered for years from Alabama slaving. He then recruited seventy French soldiers, bringing the expedition to a total of 220 men. With Saint-Denis and Tonti assigned as captains, the whole party rendezvoused at Mobila before departing for Alabama country. That night, the Indian troops performed their purification ceremonies for war. Bienville even agreed to let a Native tattoo artist inscribe figures of snakes on his chest. The next day, they all departed. The Mobilians served as guides. The expedition, however, soon went awry. Just before reaching the Alabama towns, two Indian men were fatally burned when they moved too close to a campfire and the gunpowder they were carrying exploded. To the assembled Indian forces, this was a bad omen and put many of them on edge. Many in the party also soon fell ill, and several of the ill, including the French chaplain, the French surgeon, and the war captain of the Tohomés, had to return home. The whole Tohomé contingent left with their war captain. A general unease now gripped the Indian forces, with many believing that the expedition was ill-fated. Also, for reasons not entirely clear, the Mobilian guides led the party astray, taking the troops in circles and avoiding any encounters with the Alabamas. Indian warriors soon began to desert and continued to do so until Bienville's forces were seriously drained. After five days, Bienville, upon conferring with Saint-Denis and Tonti, ordered the troops back to Mobile.<sup>37</sup>

After returning to Mobile, Bienville regrouped for a second assault on the Alabamas. This time, Bienville opted to not enlist any Indian allies—especially not the Mobilians, whom he believed had intentionally misled the expedition because, he reasoned, they and the Alabamas must be allies. He departed for an overland march with forty-eight Frenchmen. After ten days of marching, Bienville's force only managed to attack a small Alabama hunting party, and both sides lost two men each.<sup>38</sup>

Although the hostilities between the French and Alabamas would last for another seven years, from this foray, Bienville managed to acquire some important intelligence on some of the interior towns. He learned that both the Abihkas and Chickasaws were well armed with English guns and strongly

under English influence. In fact, he reported that there were three or four English traders in each town who were giving the Indians “big presents,” and that the English had “armed almost all of them with guns.” Bienville also observed that these Indians “attach themselves to whomsoever gives them most,” and that the well-supplied English, therefore, could easily win them as trading partners.<sup>39</sup>

The altercations between the French and the Alabamas give us many insights into English machinations in the interior and the consequences for Native peoples. For instance, Bienville’s assessment of a Mobila-Alabama alliance must be critically examined. The Alabamas had been raiding Mobila for years, and by all accounts, they were enemies up until this time. In fact, Mobila, Tohomé, and Little Tohomé had suffered heavy losses from diseases and slavers. In 1704 yellow fever hit the Mobile-Tensaw Delta, taking scores of both Indians and Europeans, including Henri de Tonti, a great loss for Bienville. By the first decade of the eighteenth century, the Mobila towns were reduced from five to two villages, the Tohomé were reduced from 500 warriors to 60, and the Little Tohomé were reduced from 300 warriors to 30.<sup>40</sup> It is possible that the Mobilians, since they were French allies, had concluded some sort of peace with the Alabamas after the Alabamas had smoked the calumet with Bienville. Still, the Mobila troops betraying Bienville does not ring true. A better assessment would be that they were hesitant because of all the ill omens portending on the expedition—something Southern Indians took very seriously.

Another telling episode happened a few months after Bienville’s second expedition to the Alabamas, when forty Frenchmen, led by M. de Boisbrian, raided an Alabama hunting camp, killing all the men there and capturing the women and children. Boisbrian brought the captives into Mobile, where he intended to sell them as slaves. Some Mobilians, however, asked Bienville if he would release the captives to them because they were their kin. According to Pénigault, Bienville granted the request, and this generosity “caused the Mobiliens later on to unite with us in the wars we carried on against the Alibamons.” Given the amount of slave raiding that the Alabamas conducted against Mobila, it is quite likely that these women and children were Mobilians who had been captured by the Alabamas and kept as slaves or adopted into Alabama kin groups. Later in 1708, two other Mobilian women who had “married” into the Alabama lineages defected and alarmed Bienville when they learned of Alabama plans to attack the French. In other words, despite Bienville’s assessment of a Mobila-Alabama alliance in 1704

and Pénigault's evaluation of why they allied with the French against the Alabama, it is more likely that the two groups were in enmity and simply remained so.<sup>41</sup>

The intelligence that Bienville had about English traders stationed throughout the interior towns demonstrates the all-out nature of English efforts to enlist Native allies and trade partners after 1703. The fact that the English managed to entice the Alabamas away from the French exemplifies not only English diplomacy but also a new advantage in the play-off system that accrued to those Indians whose territories saddled imperial rivalries. Although the Alabamas' strategy backfired, others in the interior took full advantage of it, especially the Chickasaws. The Chickasaws have historically been considered staunch allies of the English, but a close reading of the documents reveals that they in fact sought out both French and English alliances throughout much of the early eighteenth century, never giving binding agreements to either. For example, only a few days after Bienville had returned from his second raid on the Alabamas, twenty Chickasaws arrived at Fort Louis with five Alabama scalps. Bienville paid them five pounds of balls and powder for the deed.<sup>42</sup> Chickasaws attacking English-allied groups, however, would have caused considerable alarm and consternation in Charlestown. Bienville, on the other hand, took this as a measure of Chickasaw loyalty, and he repeatedly expressed confidence in their alliance. Subsequent events, however, would shake this confidence and put the Chickasaws forever under suspicion in Bienville's mind.

In 1704, the same year as the Alabama attacks, twenty Chickasaws traveled to Mobile to report that Carolinians had purchased from them twelve Taensa slaves in order "to retain them in their interest." A few months later, in early 1705, Chickasaw slavers conducted a large raid against the Choctaws and later sold several Choctaws to English slavers. At the time of the raid or shortly thereafter, a large group of thirty or so Chickasaws were in Mobile. They were fearful of returning to their homes through Choctaw country, and Bienville appointed M. de Boisbrian to escort them.<sup>43</sup>

Bienville had great confidence in the French-Choctaw alliance as well. The Choctaws, too, had great confidence in the accord, and they were emboldened by their French connections enough to organize retaliatory raids against both the Alabamas and Chickasaws, and hence the Chickasaw delegations' worry. As Boisbrian's party entered into Choctaw country, the party encamped at one of the Choctaw towns. A Choctaw mico took Boisbrian aside and upbraided him for bringing enemies into their territory. He asked, "Are you

going to get yourself burned at their village the way a little French boy was burned whom M. de Bienville gave them last year to learn their language?" The Choctaw mico was lying—Saint-Michel was fine—but the whole was a ruse to sow suspicion between the Frenchmen and their Chickasaw companions. The mico counseled Boisbrian that the Chickasaws planned a trap for the French, and that if he did not believe him, then Boisbrian should send some Chickasaws on ahead to fetch Saint-Michel to prove there was no treachery afoot. Meanwhile, the rest of the Chickasaws should remain under guard in one of the houses. Despite the Chickasaws' insistence that Saint-Michel was alive and well, Boisbrian agreed. When the Chickasaws who had gone to get Saint-Michel had not returned at the appointed time, the captive Chickasaws protested that their countrymen had been killed en route. But Boisbrian thought the Choctaw mico was telling the truth. He left, taking his soldiers with him and leaving the fate of the locked-up Chickasaws in Choctaw hands. A few months later, ten Chickasaw emissaries arrived in Mobile with Saint-Michel, and they asked Bienville to reconcile them, once again, to the Choctaws.<sup>44</sup>

Unlike Iberville, Bienville was apparently of two minds about a Choctaw-Chickasaw peace. On the one hand, such an alliance would put the French in jeopardy, since such an alliance could easily overwhelm the colony. On the other hand, winning the Chickasaws to French favors would stem English ambitions toward the Mississippi River. But to win a Chickasaw alliance would first require securing a Choctaw-Chickasaw pact. The Chickasaws, for their part, continued their overtures to the French as well as to the English, thus securing favorable agreements from both. However, the war that broke out between the Choctaws and Chickasaws, which was mostly massive slaving expeditions, tested even the most secure relations with the French. And, for a while at least, it appeared as if the Chickasaws would move wholly to the English. In 1705, during the years of the Apalachee assault, many of the interior groups signed a treaty with the English, agreeing to an alliance with them and proclaiming that all "friends and enemies of the English were now their friends and enemies." The Indian signers of the treaty were micos from the towns of Okmulgee, Cussita, Chiaha, Coweta, Tukabatchee (Tallapoosa), Okfuskee, Okchoi, Alabama, and Altamaha. After the destruction of Apalachee, Carolina now enlisted these groups to turn on the French allies. The Mobilians and Tohomés once again came under attack by the Alabamas and others, forcing them to contract their remaining towns farther south toward Mobile and the protection of the French (see Map 8).<sup>45</sup> Although the

Chickasaws were not signatories on the 1705 treaty, the English still lavished much attention on them. A year before, two Choctaws reported to Bienville that four English traders with eight packhorses had arrived in the Chickasaw towns. Undoubtedly, this was but one of several such trading ventures into Chickasaw country. Between 1704 and 1710, Chickasaw raiding, promoted and sponsored by English slavers, escalated beyond anything seen heretofore, and many groups throughout the lower Mississippi Valley and present-day Mississippi suffered at the hands of Chickasaw slavers during these years (see Map 8).<sup>46</sup>

Carolínians also took the opportunity to enlist other groups in the region. The Yazooos, who were on the lower Yazoo River, and the Chakchiumas, now joined with the Ibitoupas and Taposas and controlling an area from the headwaters of the Yazoo to the Tombigbee, signed on with English traders and, more often than not, joined forces with the Chickasaws in their slaving expedition (see Map 8). The Yazooos seem to have taken a particularly anti-French attitude; but the Chakchiumas engaged in play-off, as when Bienville persuaded them to interfere with Carolina traders Thomas Nairne and Thomas Welch in 1708. By 1715, however, because of the escalation of slave raiding and reprisals, the Chakchiumas would constrict their towns to the upper Yazoo River.<sup>47</sup>

A series of intra-Indian conflicts were set off by the in-migration of people fleeing the Chickasaws and other raiders. Other groups on the Yazoo River, for example, became the targets of the Yazooos, Chakchiumas, and Chickasaw slavers, and the Yazoo basin served as a major conduit for slaving parties (see Map 8). The Grigras and the remaining Tioux on the Yazoo River fled their homes sometime in the early eighteenth century. Both moved down the Mississippi to join the Natchez; they were admitted as part of the Stinkard class.<sup>48</sup> In September 1706, an English trader assembled a force of Chickasaw and Alabama warriors to attack the Tunicas and the Ofos, who were living near the mouth of the Yazoo River. The Tunicas and Ofos were virtually defenseless against this and other assaults, and they, too, abandoned their homes and moved down the Mississippi River (see Map 8). They took refuge at the confluence of the Red River with the Houmas and soon joined in brokering the French and Indian trade to the west. The union, however, grew tense, and the Tunicas turned on their hosts, killing more than half of the Houma nation. Afterward, the remainder of the Houmas fled to the Bayou St. John just south of where New Orleans would be settled in 1718. A few years later, they returned upstream a few miles to the juncture of Bayou

Lafourche and the Mississippi River, where they settled Petit Houma and Grand Houma (see Map 8). The Tunicas remained in the Red River location for about another seventy years and, in part because of their lucrative trade agreements, became good friends of the French.

A month before the raid on the Tunicas and Ofos, Chickasaw and Yazoo slavers had crossed the Mississippi and so severely raided the Taensas on Lake St. Joseph in present-day Louisiana that the Taensas were forced to flee their homes. The survivors moved en masse to live with the Bayogoulas and, undoubtedly, to be nearer to Fort de la Boulaye and French protection (see Map 8). For some reason, the Taensas then turned on the Bayogoulas and nearly exterminated them. As reported to Bienville, the Taensas were now living in fear of retribution by the Houmas, Colapissas, and others that were allies of the Bayogoulas. To strengthen their numbers, the Taensas invited the Chitimachas and Yanki-Chitos to join them, but only a few Chitimachas accepted. Apparently, the Taensas became enraged over the Chitimachas' refusal and forcibly captured those few who had come to their town, intending to sell them to the French. The Taensas then moved away from the Bayogoula towns they had seized, settling relatively close by.<sup>49</sup>

Meanwhile, other carefully cultivated relations between the French and the Indians of the lower Mississippi Valley became strained through a series of events, such as the killing of the missionaries Saint-Cosme and Foucault by the Chitimachas and Koroas, respectively. The motives for these killings may never come to light, but, given the atmosphere and increasing violence, suspicions and rumors about English influences and French reprisals circulated widely. Father Nicholas Foucault had begun his work with the Quapaws in 1702. That same year, he and three other Frenchmen were killed by some Koroas they had hired to paddle them and their supplies to Natchez. Although not verified, many in Mobile believed the killings were instigated by the English and the Yazoos. It could also be that the Koroas resented the French providing munitions to their enemies, the Quapaws. Bienville knew that in order to keep the Indians' respect, he would have to avenge these deaths. He enlisted some Tunicas and some French soldiers to punish the Koroas and Yazoos. The punitive force met Saint-Denis at Fort de la Boulaye, and when all was readied, Saint-Denis, for unknown reasons, "changed his mind and refused to go." Later, Bienville asked the Quapaws to avenge the deaths, which they did by razing some Koroa towns that were west of the Mississippi. Although Bienville reported that the Koroas had been destroyed, in reality the Koroa towns on the Yazoo River and near the Natchez were untouched.



Bienville afterward observed of the Quapaws' actions: "That deserves a little present that I shall give them."<sup>50</sup>

In 1707 another missionary, Father Saint-Cosme, who was stationed among the Natchez, was killed by the Chitimachas. The Chitimachas harbored much anger over the French presence, as they believed the Taensa kidnapping of their kin the year before had been done at the behest of the French. They also thought the French-inspired Koroa destruction at the hands of the Quapaws had been unfair. Their anger had simmered for many years, and by 1707 a group of Chitimachas took an opportunity to lash out at the French. In November of that year, Saint-Cosme was traveling down the Mississippi en route to Mobile to confer with his superiors. Traveling with a French escort, the party encamped one evening on the riverbank. During the night, Chitimacha warriors stole into the camp and killed all except a young slave boy, who escaped to Fort de la Boulaye. Upon hearing the news, Bienville sent a shipment of guns, ammunition, and other presents to Fort de la Boulaye with orders to Saint-Denis to use the gifts to enlist a force of Indians to punish the Chitimachas. As testimony to the unpredictable shifts of alliance during these chaotic years, the force included Biloxis, Bayougoulas, Natchez, and, despite their close affiliation with the Chitimachas, some Chawasha warriors. The Indian militia destroyed one of the Chitimacha towns and captured several men, women, and children, who were later sold to Louisiana French colonists. Saint-Denis then returned to Fort de la Boulaye, where he executed in the assembly grounds a Chitimacha warrior who had boasted of killing Saint-Cosme. Hostilities between the French and the Chitimachas would continue until 1718. According to French law, these hostilities marked them as "enemies," which meant that they could be enslaved; Chitimacha and Alabama captives, the two Indian groups declared as French enemies, constituted the bulk of Indian slaves in the French colony. Ultimately, the Chitimachas stayed in their homeland on Bayou Lafourche, and that is where they are today.<sup>51</sup>

The groups on the Pearl and Pascagoula Rivers—the Biloxis, Pascagoulas, Capinans, and Colapissas—had suffered early on from Chickasaw slaving, and their towns were substantially reduced by 1700. The Colapissas, who were on the lower Pearl River, had moved in 1702 to the north shore of Lake Pontchartrain, where they took in some Natchitoches Caddos who were suffering from flooding (see Map 8). Over the first decade of the eighteenth century, the Biloxis shifted their village site several times between the environs of Lake Pontchartrain and the Pearl River. The Pascagoulas and Capinans, who

had already been reduced to sharing a town on the upper Pascagoula River, managed to stay in their locale despite the successive hardships from slave raiders (see Map 7). As we have seen, the Pascagoulas also enlisted as mercenaries for the French in their war against the Alabamas, and they participated in many campaigns against the Alabamas in the first decade of the eighteenth century.<sup>52</sup>

The greatest toll from Chickasaw slaving, however, was paid by the Choctaws (see Map 8). Each raid resulted in numerous losses for the Choctaws. For example, in January and March 1706, Chickasaw warriors launched two raids with reportedly thousands of warriors, carrying off, in total, over 450 Choctaws. A few months later, a large force of Chickasaw slavers and some English slavers once again raided Choctaw towns. In this case, though, the inhabitants had been forewarned and fled into the woods. The raiders “ravaged their cabins and their corn” and then retreated. Choctaw warriors, now armed with French guns, attacked the retreating raiders, killing many of them.<sup>53</sup>

English slaver Thomas Welch was most likely the major sponsor of these slave raids. Welch’s deposition requesting the return of some slaves seized by Governor Johnson after one of the Chickasaw raids mentioned above describes the trader’s methods and the targeting of French-allied Indians. According to Welch, he had been commissioned by the Carolina government to strike at the French-allied Choctaws. Welch furnished 300 Chickasaw warriors with arms “upon a Contract that if they had Success, they should pay fifteen Slaves to him.” Then Welch and five other Englishmen joined with the 300 Chickasaw warriors in the raiding. Of the fifteen slaves paid to him, Welch kept five and disbursed the remaining ten among the five other Englishmen. Apparently, the remaining Choctaw captives taken in this and the other raids went to the Chickasaw warriors. One can assume that the majority of them were subsequently sold to English slavers.<sup>54</sup>

In 1706 Iberville, now in Vera Cruz, drafted an ambitious plan for the French and Spanish to join naval and ground forces in an attempt to take Charlestown by sea. While stopping in Havana to pick up some Spanish troops, the army was struck with yellow fever. Many of the men either died or were debilitated. They also lost their leader, as Iberville succumbed to the disease and died on July 6, 1706. Despite the heavy losses, the fleet continued to Charlestown, where it was easily routed by a combined Carolina and Indian force. Over the next three years, rumors of invasions periodically circulated through Charlestown, not only sending alarms through the city and

its environs but also focusing the attentions of the authorities on how best to secure the colony. Their solution lay in using their low country Indian allies such as the Yamasees, Cusabos, and others as military allies, securing the interior trade alliances with the Cherokees, Esaws, Tallapoosas, Alabamas, and Chickasaws and garnering more—especially those attached to the French, such as the Choctaws. The plan, as usual, was to outfit the English-allied interior groups and then pressure them into raiding and weakening any French Indian allies. Without Indian allies, the French colony would be left quite vulnerable. To achieve this, the Carolina government would spare no expense in securing their trade and military partnerships both at home and in the interior.<sup>55</sup>

That same year, Thomas Welch, who had been traipsing back and forth from the Mississippi to Carolina for years, arrived in Charlestown to propose an affront on Mobile directly. Welch's plan included luring the Choctaws away from the French and stabilizing relationships with the Yazoos, who, despite having participated in the English slave trade for years, must have been expressing French sympathies. Thomas Nairne, the aforementioned seasoned slave trader and veteran of the Apalachee campaign, would lead the expedition. Although the planned attack on Mobile never came to pass, Welch's formulation set in motion other events that would exacerbate an already untenable situation for French-allied Indians.<sup>56</sup>

In one incident, a small force of Carolina military and Indian allies prepared to attack the Spanish at Pensacola, which was the first line of defense for Mobile and Fort Louis. Bienville received intelligence on the planned attack from a Choctaw woman who had been enslaved by the English or their allies but had escaped. As Bienville reported, she made her way to Fort Louis to inform him that "all the nations were rallying with the English 'in order to eat up a village of white people.'" So as not to flame rumors of cannibalism, Bienville added that this was just one of the Natives' expressions. He further learned that the next objective after Pensacola was Mobile. Bienville alerted the commandant at Pensacola. A few days later, a few Englishmen and several hundred Alabama and Tallapoosa warriors laid siege to the Spanish fort for over two months and captured dozens of Indian men, women, and children—including Lamhatty, who left one of the few southern Native accounts of captivity and slavery. The Spanish, with only a small muster of soldiers and a handful of Indian allies, managed to keep the fort, but only after incurring heavy losses and much damage to both the town and the fort. When Bienville arrived with supporting troops, the English and their allies

had already withdrawn. Afterward, most of the remaining Indians around Pensacola—the Tawasas, Chacatos, and Apalachees—moved to the Mobile Delta (see Map 8). Sometime later, when the commandant at Pensacola asked that they return, they refused, citing the better protection they received from the French, the guns that the French offered them in trade, and their inability to be “masters of their wives” among the Spaniards. The latter probably referenced the ban on polygamy that the friars had imposed among the mission Indians of La Florida. These groups soon became indispensable hunters and farmers for the Mobile colony. They also suffered repeated bouts of disease outbreaks that were brought to Mobile via the transatlantic and trans-Gulf shipping.<sup>57</sup>

After the attack on Pensacola, Nairne, who was at the Pensacola assault, now set his sights on Mobile and finally ousting the French. Earlier that year, Nairne had been the chief author of a revised regulation to the Indian trade, one that furthered the regulations against abuses and stipulated an Indian agent to oversee the trade. After much contention, Governor Johnson signed the bill, known as the Indian Trade Act of 1707, and appointed Nairne as Indian agent. Nairne now could act as a bona fide government official. Although he only acted in this capacity for under two years, Nairne took it upon his office to stem the illegal but widely practiced trade tactic of instigating slave raids against English-allied Indians. He had no compunction, however, about slaving nonallied Indians; in fact, this was the central piece to his plan of invading French Louisiana. Nairne knew that only a considerable present of guns, ammunition, cloth, and other goods could guarantee Indian alliances. He also hoped to win the Choctaws through English largesse and impressing them with the quality and quantity of goods available to them through a Choctaw-English pact. In 1708, with these goals in mind, Nairne and Welch set out for Tallapoosa, Abihka, and Alabama country, where they would attempt to stage their venture.<sup>58</sup>

Nairne's scheme was ambitious to say the least. He believed he could amass a large force of Tallapoosas, Alabamas, Abihkas, Okfuskees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Yazos, and Quapaws. Then, by fueling inter-Indian aggressions with offers of buying any captives they took during a raid and by manipulating those hostilities against French-allied Indians, Nairne believed his Indian forces could effectively clean out any French allies in the territory between the Tallapoosa River and Mobile Bay. He would also either sway the Choctaws, Yazos, Natchez, and Quapaws to the English or have his Indian allies destroy them. The Indian slavers could then pick off the remainders of

the Gulf coast Indians and the lower Mississippi Valley Indians. To his mind, everyone involved stood to gain: his Indian allies would garner goods from the sale of their captives into slavery, and he and Carolina would gain nothing less than the Mississippi River.<sup>59</sup>

Meanwhile, Bienville also realized the necessity of plying Indian allies with gifts and good trade agreements, and he especially appreciated the strategic position that the Chickasaws would have in resisting any sort of English invasion. Despite being harangued with internal colonial squabbles, Bienville turned his attentions, once again, to the Chickasaws. Over the years, Bienville had carefully cultivated relationships with a small group of Chickasaw headmen and warriors who had sought out the French, and he was confident that this small group could use their influences to discourage any reception of English overtures. He now revisited the idea of building an interior trading fort between the Choctaws and Chickasaws, and he sent scouts up the Mobile River to chart a route to and from their towns. He also sent several requisitions for additional trade goods from France, and, as a final measure, he offered a bounty of one gun for every scalp of an English-allied Indian that anyone brought in.<sup>60</sup>

The accepted version of Chickasaw history has been that the Chickasaws were Anglophiles throughout the Historic Period and that the English manipulated them into this position through agreeable trade agreements. But as we have seen, the Chickasaws showed an early inclination to avoid alienating one European power at the request of another. Recall that in 1699 they refused an English trader's request for them to kill Father Davion. In 1703 they accepted the invitation from Iberville to come to Mobile, where they agreed to let Saint-Michel, the young boy, stay among them. In 1707 they requested a French trading house near their towns. Even so, they also welcomed English traders into their towns, participated in the slave trade in order to purchase goods from these traders, and refused to expel them in spite of numerous French requests to do so. Nairne, too, noted that the Chickasaws were attached to the English, but he also saw that there was an internal split along a pro-French and pro-English axis.<sup>61</sup>

Recent ethnohistorical and archaeological evidence gives us some sense of how this factionalism played out within the Chickasaw towns and among their leadership roles. By the time of Nairne's visit in 1708, the Chickasaws had already pulled in from their dispersed settlement patterns into a more congregated one. Nairne relates that the ravages of disease and warfare had caused the Chickasaws to "break up their Townships and unite them for want

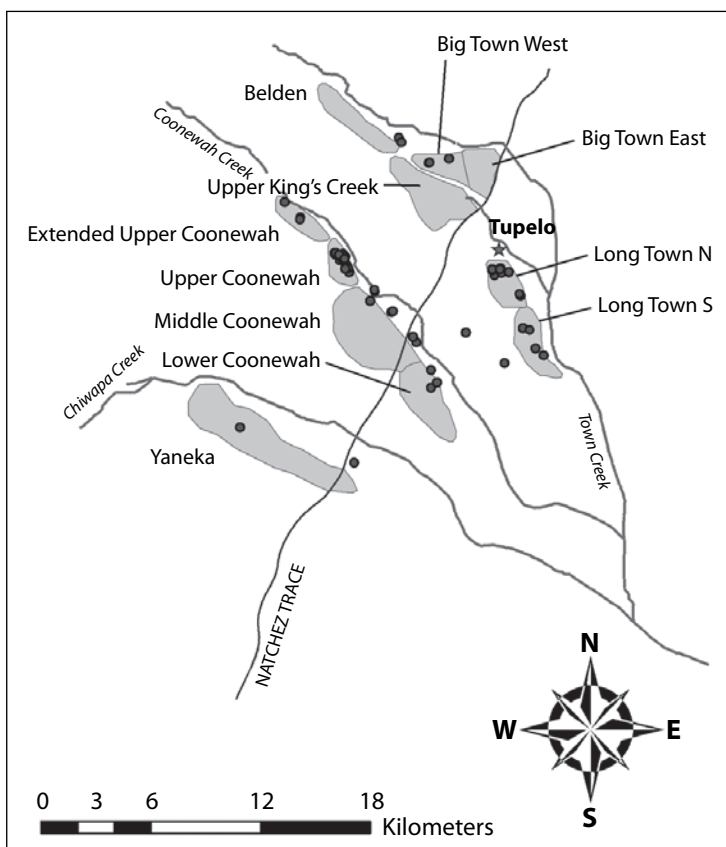


FIGURE 9 Chickasaw settlements near present-day Tupelo, Mississippi, ca. 1680–1720 (Drawing by Wendy Cegielski. From Wendy Cegielski, “A GIS-Based Analysis of Chickasaw Settlement in Northeast Mississippi: 1650–1840,” 75 [Figure 11]. Master’s thesis, University of Mississippi, 2010.)

of inhabitants.” The towns were now clustered along Town and Coonewah Creeks near present-day Tupelo (Figure 9). In later years, when Frenchmen had more opportunities to visit the Chickasaw towns, they noted dual town clusters and dubbed them Small Prairie towns and Large Prairie towns. We also know now that the Large Prairie towns were war towns, with leadership drawn from the red moiety, and the Small Prairie towns were peace towns, with leadership drawn from the white moiety.<sup>62</sup>

Red/white or war/peace moiety divisions were fundamental to Chickasaw social organization and helped structure early colonial negotiations and renegotiations, but once they were put to a new use in the colonial era, they

were transformed. The dual red/white organization of the colonial Chickasaws likely originated with their ancestors in the Mississippi Period. As discussed previously, the Mississippians had three ideological organizations: the chiefly institution with its emphasis on warfare, the communal institution with its emphasis on purity and renewal, and the priestly institution with its emphasis on ancestor worship. To reiterate, the communal and chiefly institutions were organizational opposites, and, at its center, Mississippian religion was a dyadic organization. Some organizational elements of the Historic Period Southern Indians may be transformations of these Mississippian institutions. The communal institution may have transformed into the rites of renewal and purification of the Green Corn Ceremony (or Busk), and the chiefly institution may have transformed into the well-known warfare institutions of the Historic Period coalescent societies. The priestly institution, no longer functioning to supervise proper elite ancestor worship, was probably folded into Green Corn ceremonialism, but the priests retained their distinct order as prophets and medicine people. One can see that these transformed Mississippian institutions could reflect the war/peace or red/white moieties known for several Southern Indian groups during the Historic Period.<sup>63</sup>

The archaeological evidence that simple chiefdoms may have operated with two micos (a War Chief and a Peace Chief) reflects this dual organization and also helps to clarify Nairne's description of Chickasaw leadership. As was the custom of the day, Nairne kept a record of his plans, his tactics, and their implementation. In these accounts, Nairne clearly describes two micos as being the leaders of the Chickasaws. He also describes inherited chieftainships, mother towns, red and white lines of power and decision making, and other attributes that we now associate with simple chiefdoms. Certainly, the two micos that Nairne met were not borne on anyone's shoulders to meet him; and certainly, as we will see, the two were jockeying for position and prestige in the colonial world. But the leaders that Nairne met in 1708 may have more closely resembled the leadership of a simple chiefdom than previously thought. In fact, it is quite likely that Nairne stumbled upon Chickasaw society at the exact moment that the chiefdom-level political structure was being transformed into something else. Clearly, much about life had changed over the 150 years between Soto's invasion and Nairne's imperial mission. The Mississippian world had fallen, and the Chicazas had become the Chickasaws. However, not everything changed, and some Mississippian institutions were put to new uses. The early eighteenth-century Chickasaw moiety system was one such Mississippian institution that the Chickasaws

managed to retain into the eighteenth century, and one that they used to link to the new economic situation in which they found themselves.

Nairne is very clear about the division of the Chickasaws into war and peace lines of kinship. In fact, he lists the clans of the peace division as the “Tygar, Muclesa, and racoon fameilys [*sic*] together with the Chiefs.”<sup>64</sup> This list can be compared to a ranking of Chickasaw clans obtained by Henry Schoolcraft just after the Chickasaw removal to present-day Oklahoma in the mid-nineteenth century. Schoolcraft lists the clans, in order of rank, as the Minko or Chief Clan, the Raccoon Clan, the Panther Clan, the Spanish Clan, the Fish Clan, and the Skunk Clan. The Spanish Clan may be an English translation of a Chickasaw derivation of “Fani” or Squirrel Clan, which, as we will see, may have been a significant lineage in the peace moiety.<sup>65</sup> Schoolcraft’s list includes the Skunk and Fish Clans, which are not on Nairne’s list. Taking these two lines of evidence, we can conclude that, at a minimum, the Chickasaw peace moiety in the early eighteenth century included the clans of Minko, Raccoon, Panther, Muclesa, and probably Squirrel.

Early twentieth-century anthropologist John R. Swanton compiled much on Southern Indian kinship, although one must be cautious in using his work since his methods have since been criticized for being flawed.<sup>66</sup> In his Chickasaw work, Swanton combined information from contemporary Chickasaws as well as from historical sources covering about 300 years. Despite the discrepancies between such disparate sources, the moieties show up in each source, indicating that they were probably long-term elements. Still, the sources do not agree on the Chickasaw names of the moieties nor on the number and names of the clans in each.<sup>67</sup> After delineating all of the variations, Swanton finally settles on the moiety names of Tcukafalaha and Tcukilissa. His twentieth-century informants said that in the past, the people of Tcukafalaha, which Swanton translates as “long house,” were “warlike and lived on a flat or prairie country”; while the people of Tcukilissa, which Swanton translates as “empty or abandoned house,” were “peaceful people living in the timber.”<sup>68</sup> Swanton also lists fifteen clans as the composite number. He notes that the clans in each moiety were ranked and that a male from each clan was assigned a leadership position—what anthropologists would call a “clan uncle.”<sup>69</sup> The clan uncles were to represent their respective clans in council. The moiety itself was represented by the clan uncle from the highest-ranked clan in that moiety. Likewise, each moiety had a clan from which the prophets and medicine people were chosen.<sup>70</sup> In Swanton’s discussion of Chickasaw kinship, it is clear that clan ranking shifted over time, so we



cannot assume that Schoolcraft's ranking, as noted above, existed in Nairne's time—with one exception. Like Schoolcraft, Nairne indicates that the Minko Clan of the peace moiety ranked the highest, but the ranking of the others for this time period is uncertain. The clans of the early eighteenth-century war moiety are even more difficult to determine. In another general list of clan names, Nairne lists the clans of the Turkey, Deer, Bear, Eagle, Hawk or Bird, Lyslala or Demedices, Ogilisa, Fish, and "etcetera." This list probably contains the names of some of the Chickasaw war moiety clans, although their ranking is unclear.<sup>71</sup>

Chickasaw leadership was drawn from the dual red/white moiety organization.<sup>72</sup> The highest-ranking officers of both the red/war division and the white/peace division were the War Chief and Peace Chief, respectively. As in Mississippian times, the War Chief and the Peace Chief would have been the highest-ranking men from the top-ranking clan of each moiety. Nairne notes that in 1708 the Peace Chief was a man named Fattalamee. The War Chief was Oboystabee, likely the same man who had met with Tonti six years earlier. In addition, Nairne's observations reflect that the moieties themselves appear to have been ranked, with the peace moiety taking the higher position. Nairne calls the peace town of Hallechehoe the "Mother Town," suggesting that towns were also still being ranked. The chief of Hallechehoe was the Peace Chief Fattalamee, and Nairne reports that, except when under military attack, all of the village chiefs were subordinate to him.<sup>73</sup>

Each moiety had complementary social and political duties: the red moiety directed matters of war, and the white moiety directed matters of peace. Exactly what constituted matters of war and peace, however, is still vague, although certainly a man's social stature was predicated on being good in both.<sup>74</sup> If the red moiety was responsible for decisions made in war, did this, by extension, include decisions in slaving? As we have seen, the concept of a slave was not new to the Chickasaws or other North American Indians, as most Native groups had an indigenous form of slavery. Since slaves were usually taken from war captives, indigenous slavery was related to warfare, which was under the jurisdiction of the red moiety. In terms of commercial slaving, we have few descriptions of actual slave raids, but Nairne describes a war event that clearly included commercial slaving.

Nairne's description is quite detailed, indicating that he probably witnessed the event. Nairne describes a surprise attack in which a small group of men fanned out into a half moon and stealthily approached a village. At a signal from the "Chief Officer," each warrior "gives the War Whoop, and

then catch as catch can. After an exploit is done, good store of prisoners [*sic*] taken, and Danger a little over, they hang their bages about their prisoners necks and set them all advancing.”<sup>75</sup> This slaving was done with all the pomp and ritual of warfare, as detailed by Nairne.

Enslaving war captives, then, was nothing new to the Chickasaws, and war captives could be easily linked to commercial slaving. Even so, some critical aspects changed. War captives now consisted of hundreds of women and children, and they were now a commodity sold to European and Indian traders. And as commodities, they were quite valuable. According to Nairne, with a single slave, a Chickasaw man could purchase a gun, ammunition, a horse, a hatchet, and a suit of clothes.<sup>76</sup> Nairne may have exaggerated the price in his report; still, slaving was a lucrative enterprise.<sup>77</sup> It should be no surprise, then, that Indian slaving expeditions were often quite large, sometimes involving hundreds of men. Recall Tonti’s 1702 trip to the Chickasaws and the raiding party of 400 warriors. Recall also that Tonti related that when the raiders returned to their towns, they locked the slaves in holding pens until the English traders were ready to export them.<sup>78</sup> Tonti’s report, as well as other reports, clearly indicate that women and children comprised the largest number of captives and that there was usually an associated high toll of adult male deaths, both among those being raided and those doing the raiding.<sup>79</sup>

Since slaving was part of warfare, and because French and English slave laws stipulated such, the Chickasaws targeted enemy groups in their slaving and, conversely, slave raiding generated military enemies among those being raided. Because of their slaving, the Chickasaws were despised by other Indians throughout the range of their raiding, and they had many enemies. In other words, it was not just the brutality of slave raiding that created inter-Indian hostilities; the slave raids were also acts of war and thus, according to the Southern Indian code of warfare, required retaliation.<sup>80</sup>

Slaving, then, was a matter of war, which meant that the new trade system was also a matter of war, and trade now fell within the jurisdiction of the war towns and the red-moiety leadership. But where did all of this leave the white, or peace, moiety? Obviously, the leaders of this moiety were responsible for matters of peace, but what does that mean? Again, we can go to Nairne for some hints. Nairne appears to have conducted much of his business with Oboystabee, the War Chief, who assured Nairne that the “military men and their wives”—in other words, the red moiety—were firm friends of the English, and that the only pro-French chiefs among them were “two refuge people who can neither hunt nor take slaves” and who have no influence

in these matters.<sup>81</sup> In a later passage, Nairne mentions that Chickasaw beliefs prohibited the Peace Chiefs and their villagers (the white moiety) from engaging in war or in slaving, and that they never deliberated in any such matters. One should not take this to mean that the members of the white moiety literally could not engage in hunting, warfare, and slaving, but rather that they had no decision-making authority in matters of war and trade.<sup>82</sup>

According to Nairne, the Peace Chief of Hallechehoe and the heads of the peace clans were charged with promoting peace and quiet, not shedding blood of any kind, keeping treaties of peace with their friends, and counseling about any affairs “except those concerning Warr.”<sup>83</sup> In a later passage, Nairne goes into some detail about another responsibility of the peace moiety—that of appointing a “Fane Mingo,” or Squirrel King. The *fanimingo* saw to the formal linking of foreign groups through a process of adoption.<sup>84</sup> For instance, if the Chickasaws wanted to establish a friendly alliance with an external group, the peace moiety would “adopt” a male of the external group, who would then be responsible for representing Chickasaw interests to the external council; the system worked both ways, and an external group could adopt a Chickasaw *fanimingo* to represent their interests in Chickasaw councils. The *fanimingo*, then, was an international diplomatic institution based on Southern Indian principles of kinship.<sup>85</sup> And it was a peace-town institution, headed by the white-moiety leadership.

The duties of a *fanimingo* were, according to Nairne, to “keep the pipes of peace by which at first they contracted Friendship, to divert the Warriors from any design against the people they protect, and Pacify them by carrying them the Eagle pipe to smook out of, and if after all, are unable to oppose the stream, are to send the people private intelligence to provide for their own safety.”<sup>86</sup> This is of particular interest here, because if the peace moiety had any legitimate affairs in slaving, it would be through the obligations of the *fanimingo*; the *fanimingo*, consequently, could make alliances with foreign groups so that slaving could not be conducted against them, and he would be well within his rights to forewarn them of impending raids. Not only this, but the *fanimingo* may have served as a mechanism for coalescence, since the peace towns would have had an institution in place for wholesale adoption of groups besieged by slavers or others looking for refuge with a more-organized, defensive group.

Groups adopted through the *fanimingo* institution would have been formally absorbed into the group, and hence, over time, they would have blended into the Chickasaw populace genetically, socially, and culturally. In contrast,

some Natchez, who temporarily joined the Chickasaws after their disastrous revolt against the French in 1729, were admitted by the Large Prairie leadership and hence through irregular channels. They were never absorbed into Chickasaw life, and the Chickasaws eventually forced them to leave. In addition, archaeologists have found what may be an archaeological signature for the fanimingo. There is a minor but consistent presence of non-Chickasaw pottery in Chickasaw collections from the Tupelo area, and, excepting the Natchez ceramics, these occur exclusively on Small Prairie sites, the white moiety towns. The non-Chickasaw wares in the Small Prairie are spread throughout the villages, indicating that migrants settled within the extant communities rather than settling separate towns. These wares include types such as Winterville and Barton Incised that were likely made by peoples living in the Yazoo basin of northwestern Mississippi. The occurrence of Leland Incised var. Leflore is particularly interesting, given the suggested association of this combination of decoration and tempering with the Chakchiumas. The ceramics suggest that when the Chakchiumas, the descendants of the sixteenth-century Sacchuma who were then Chicaza subordinates, came to live with the Chickasaws in the mid-eighteenth century, they moved into Small Prairie towns. All of these minor ceramics might have been made by refugee groups entering the Chickasaw villages by means of the fanimingo institution, thereby explaining their exclusive occurrence in the Small Prairie assemblages. Small Prairie ceramics also include some Walnut Roughened wares, which corroborates the documentary evidence for sustained contacts and alliances with eastern groups like the Abihkas and Alabamas.<sup>87</sup>

Although we only have the barest outlines of the processes of coalescence after the European invasion, it appears that among the Creeks and others, the disparate groups who coalesced still retained some sense of separation, independence, and identity. The complete absorption of foreign groups in the Chickasaw coalescence suggests that by using the fanimingo as a mechanism of coalescence, the Chickasaws retained their social and political cohesion. This is not to say that the Chickasaws did not modify their social organization in response to the changing political and economic landscape; clearly they did. However, it does appear that the Chickasaw transformation followed a different trajectory than that of other groups in the South. Obviously in this case the moieties were adapting an old institution to new circumstances.

Since slaving and warfare offered new opportunities to access European-made guns, ammunition, and alliances, a strain developed along the lines of

the red and white organization. Nairne is very clear that the Peace Chiefs were not supposed to engage in slaving. He also is clear that by 1708 some Peace Chiefs had become disgruntled over their diminished role in this new enterprise.<sup>88</sup> Nairne is also careful to point out that the Peace Chief Fattalamee had condoned slave raiding and “turned warrior,” and he had thereby gotten himself in disgrace with the people and lost his office.<sup>89</sup> In fact, it looks as though the political power of the peace moiety had begun to erode before Nairne’s 1708 visit. Despite the fact that the peace moiety outranked the red moiety, Nairne reported that Chickasaw warriors had little regard for civil authority but much respect for military authority. The erosion of the white moiety’s prestige and power, according to Nairne, was directly linked to the fact that they had no say in the trade.<sup>90</sup>

The peace moiety, feeling the effects of being excluded from the English slave trade, attempted to broker their own trade with the French, and it was most likely this group with whom Iberville and Bienville had been parlaying. Such maneuvering by the red and white moieties became more and more pronounced over time, resulting in an internal Chickasaw factionalism that fell along red and white, or Large Prairie–Small Prairie, lines.<sup>91</sup> The Small Prairie towns became largely French partisans, and the Large Prairie towns became largely English partisans. Now, instead of conducting internal and external affairs along neat moiety lines, the leadership of each moiety sought to widen their jurisdictions. The white moiety became involved in something that had theretofore been in the arena of war; they began making unilateral decisions regarding the trade and, hence, warfare. And the red moiety eventually intruded into white duties such as the fanimingo, as when the Large Prairie towns allowed the Natchez refugees to join their towns. This was done over the strenuous objections of the Francophile Small Prairie towns, the white towns responsible for such foreign affairs.<sup>92</sup> The European trade system thus worked to transform an indigenous institution by promoting internal factionalism and, in the case of the Chickasaws, by redefining the basis of the dual moiety organization from one of complementarity to one of competition. Despite the strain that they put on Chickasaw society, internal factionalism, competition, and fluid roles, as scholars increasingly demonstrate, were good tools for brokering with competing European powers.

The red/white moiety system served as the internal mechanism by which the Chickasaws could successfully link to the capitalist economy. It was easily linked because of the form this new economy initially took—that of a slave trade, which squared well with Chickasaw rules and roles of war and peace.

Certainly, warfare was an essential part of precontact Mississippian life. But with European contact, the incentives for warfare and violence changed. Archaeologists are not certain of all the motives for Mississippi Period warfare; once Europeans came on the scene, however, one can see that war efforts became largely motivated by commercial interests and tied to international trade and European imperial ambitions in ways that would have been inconceivable prehistorically.

## CHAPTER 8

### *The Emergence of the Colonial South, ca. 1710–1715*

By 1708, the year of Thomas Nairne's journey into the interior, the Chickasaws and other Southern Indians were feeling the strains of their participation in the slave trade. Certainly, the trade was lucrative and enticing and opened new opportunities to young and ambitious men and women. The trade, though, was generated from a new global economy largely predicated on the sale of armaments, the use of debt and credit, and an overwhelming tendency to deplete resources. Then, between 1702 and 1713, the years of Queen Anne's War, the Indian trade system became linked to the imperial aims of England in the scramble for colonies. By 1715 virtually all Indian societies in the American South were ensnared in an economic matrix of debt, slaving, militarization, and warfare. At this point, Southern Indians could not extricate themselves from the trade system even if they tried—and they did try in the Yamasee War of 1715.

Scholars have examined the Yamasee War from many angles, and most of them agree that at its root is the Indian slave trade and the inauguration of the Atlantic trade system in the South. With historical hindsight, one can see that the Yamasee War was the outcome of not only the slave trade but also the logic of capitalist extraction, which entails an overexploitation of resources. In short, the Yamasee War occurred for a complex of reasons, not least of which is the fact that the Indian slave trade was crumbling under its own brutal weight. The “frenzy of slaving” could only last so long before population numbers fell below a sustainable margin and slaving victims began to take the offensive.

As we have seen, one of the reasons why slaving spread so far and wide throughout the South was the conjoining of the slave trade and English imperialism in Queen Anne's War. Nairne's scheme to manipulate and use Indian allies to secure the American South for England was but the most ambitious of many such efforts taking place throughout the South at this time. Nairne, Welch, and twenty-five Apalachee burden bearers departed Charlestown at the beginning of 1708, and by January 20 they had reached the Tallapoosas. By April 12 Nairne was writing from the Chickasaw towns. As we have seen, Nairne spent much time conferring with the Chickasaw War Chief. He had set out for Chickasaw country in 1708 with 100 pounds in local currency worth of trade goods, and he made generous gifts and offers of good trade alliances to Oboystabee and his warriors. He also took a great risk in going to Choctaw country, given the seething enmity that existed between the Chickasaws and Choctaws. Bienville later heard that Nairne had gone to the Great Village of the Choctaws, where he proposed that they aid the English in destroying all the Indians near Mobile—the Tohomés, Apalachees, Mobilians, Tawasas, Chacatos, Pascagoulas, and Pensacolas. Meanwhile, Welch continued on to the Yazoo towns on the upper Yazoo River, where he met with representatives of the Quapaws, Taensas, Koroas, Natchez, and Tunicas.<sup>1</sup>

Nairne later bragged that he was successful in enlisting the Choctaws, but Bienville was of the opinion that the Choctaws only took the Englishman's presents and listened to his talks. According to Bienville, the Choctaw micos relayed to him that they had told Nairne that they would do all they could to oppose any such expedition passing through Choctaw territory. Apparently, the Indians assembled in the Yazoo town made no reply to Welch one way or the other. However, the Yazoos, Koroas, Natchez, and Taensas must have favorably received Welch's invitation since they were already harboring many misgivings about the French. The Quapaws used the play-off strategy, claiming friendships to both the French and the English and continuing to entertain offers and trade goods from both.<sup>2</sup>

In fact, Bienville's confidence in all of his Indian allies, including the Choctaws, and in the power of France in general, was severely challenged by Nairne's journey. Upon receiving the news of Nairne's and Welch's intrigues, Bienville had immediately asked Chakchiuma warriors to capture the Englishmen. The Chakchiumas instead only pillaged their packhorse train. Bienville once again sent an urgent request to France for funds for an interior



fort, as well as for more munitions for trade and other goods. He set about reinforcing the stockade at Fort Louis in preparation for an assault that might come against the Indians living in the Mobile Delta. He also enlisted the aid of his Chickasaw friends, who were in Mobile at the time, asking them to capture the two Englishmen and bring them to Mobile. According to Bienville, the *micos* assented to this request. Bienville then assigned his younger brother, Antoine Le Moyne de Chateaugué, as the Chickasaws' escort to guarantee safe passage through Choctaw country. While there, Chateaugué was to attempt once again to persuade the Choctaws and Chickasaws to make peace. But Bienville's efforts were thwarted on every side. The Chickasaws and Choctaws did not reconcile, and his Chickasaw friends never delivered Welch and Nairne to him. The fort was not funded, and additional trade goods came in slowly, if at all.<sup>3</sup>

Although Bienville had good reason to be concerned, Nairne's grand scheme never materialized. Even so, Nairne, along with others in the interior, did succeed in opening the interior to full-fledged English commerce, intensifying slaving throughout the Mississippi Valley and lower South. Queen Anne's War officially ended in 1713, but the conflagration had only whetted Carolina's appetite for westward expansion and helped to refine the strategy of bending inter-Indian conflicts to Carolinian goals. Over the next few years, English traders fanned out through Chickasaw country and points north, south, east, and west. In 1714, for example, a dozen Englishmen and reportedly 2,000 warriors made up of Alabamas, Abihkas, Talapoosas, and Chickasaws invaded Choctaw country. Their mission was to open trade between the Choctaws and English. Afterwards, only two Choctaw towns remained loyal to the French—Conchaqué and Tchicachaé—and the townspeople of both had to flee to Fort Louis as the tide of public opinion turned against an exclusive Franco-Choctaw alliance. The same tactic also worked with the Yazoos and Natchez, both of whom accepted the English pact and resumed raiding Indian groups lower down the Mississippi.<sup>4</sup>

This was followed in 1715 by the expedition of English officer Price Hughes. Hughes made a wide reconnaissance of the lower South, passing through all of the Indian towns where there were English trade houses. He then boldly ventured into territories along the mouth of the Mississippi and the Gulf coast held by Indians friendly to the French—the Houmas, Bayogoulas, Washas, Colapissas, and Pensacolas. Although Hughes was arrested that same year by Bienville, his mission succeeded in establishing new factories in the interior and in shoring up relations with both the Chickasaws

and the growing body of pro-English Choctaws. On the eve of the Yamasee War, English traders could be found among the Chickasaws, Quapaws, Yazoo, Chakchiumas, Choctaws, Natchez, and “other tribes of the Mississippi.” In fact, they were stationed throughout the rest of Indian country as well, living with the Siouan piedmont groups, the Cherokees, the Esaws, the Apalachicolas, the Tallapoosas, the Alabamas, the Abihkas, the Savannah River Shawnees, the Savannah River Apalachees, and the Yamasees. All in all, Carolina counted over 200 traders in Indian country. Hughes was soon released from Fort Louis, but some Tohomés later killed him while he was en route to Charlestown. The Tohomés undoubtedly knew that Hughes was inciting the Alabamas and Tallapoosas against them and took the matter into their own hands. In historical hindsight, one can see that the Tohomés’ action, born out of the fears, anger, and the limits of endurance of slaving, presaged a regionwide sentiment that would soon inflame the whole of the South.<sup>5</sup>

Given the penetration of the trade system throughout the South that came with Queen Anne’s War, slaving campaigns became even more frequent, although Indian slavers were having to go farther and farther afield to capture their human commodities. With guns and ammunition so plentiful, the Chickasaws, in particular, became even more far-ranging slavers, raiding down the Yazoo Basin and across the Mississippi well into Caddo country (see Map 8). Nairne reported that they traveled up to 150 miles beyond the western banks of the Mississippi in their raiding. The Caddos, though, were also under assault by Apachee raiders (see Map 8). By 1715 the population of Yataxis had dropped to about 500. By 1717 the Yataxis, Adais, and Hais abandoned their location on the middle Red River and joined the Cahinnios on the upper Ouchita River and the Kadohadachos at the bend of the Red River. And by 1724 only 400 men would remain in the whole of the Kadohadacho chiefdom, which would consolidate from four communities to just one—the Cadodacho village. The Quapaws, too, feared the Chickasaws above all others and were ever fearful of venturing too far from their palisades. They staved off complete destruction, though, by acquiring guns from both the French and the English and by taking in refugees, such as the Mitchigameas and some Illinois, to bolster their numbers. The Gulf coast Indians, especially, suffered under Chickasaw raids, as well as those from the Alabamas, Abihkas, and Tallapoosas (see Map 8). The raids and counter raids between the Chickasaws and the Illinois continued. The Choctaws, accepting English offers and guns, now had to become commercial slavers. They

took their wrath out on the Chickasaws, who had been terrorizing them for years, and Choctaw warriors began a series of raids against them. They also began raiding their former allies—the Pascagoulas, Capinans, and Biloxis on the Pascagoula and the lower Pearl Rivers—forcing the Biloxis once again to return to Lake Pontchartrain (see Map 8).<sup>6</sup>

In other areas of the South, slaving also was spinning out of control. The Alabamas and Tallapoosas took advantage of intense English persuasions to invigorate their raiding on the Mobile Delta Indians and the Choctaws (see Map 8).<sup>7</sup> The Cherokee became embroiled in a series of raids against the lower Appalachian groups, especially the Yuchis still in the vicinity, but they also struck out westward toward the Illinois groups and eastward toward the piedmont Siouan groups and even the Esaws. With most of the piedmont groups now coalesced into the Esaws, the Esaws now preyed on the Savannah River Shawnees, the low country Indians, and any northerly piedmont groups not allied with them (see Map 8). They also settled old scores with the Tuscaroras, and the two became fierce enemies, continuously raiding and counterraiding each other. The Yamasees, Apalachicolas, and Hitchitis continued to raid into La Florida, going farther and farther into the peninsula for slaves. The Apalachicolas and Hitchitis also turned west, raiding into the Mobile Delta and even into Choctaw country (see Map 8). To make matters worse, the Iroquois restarted their southern campaign. Iroquois raiders penetrated deep into the southern piedmont and Appalachians. They especially harassed the Cherokees and Esaws but also the Tuscaroras and others.<sup>8</sup>

With slaving engulfing the entire Native South, it is worth pausing to scrutinize the demographic profile of the slave trade. We have only a few accounts from the South about commercial slaving expeditions, but they give us a grasp of how they worked. As we have seen, commercial slaving was conducted as a part of warfare; therefore, slave raids resembled warfare and were conducted by male warriors. In some cases, small groups of about a dozen men would conceal themselves in the woods around vulnerable towns and snatch people as opportunity allowed. Another tactic was a full-scale, surprise raid on a town by a group of warriors. In the attack, the warriors of the town would marshal a defense. If the raiders managed to break the town's defense, they seized the town, taking captives and killing any who could not escape. The records indicate that those captured were mostly women and children. The elderly and the very young were killed in the melee. There were also high death tolls of adult men on both sides. Some figures from Chickasaw population estimates in the early eighteenth century illustrate this. In

1708 Nairne counted eight Chickasaw towns, with a total population of 700 warriors, or about 2,100 to 2,400 people. In 1702 Bienville had reported there were about 2,000 men or 6,000 to 8,000 people. One observer noted about the Chickasaws that they had destroyed many nations but also at a considerable cost to themselves and their numbers had dwindled.<sup>9</sup> After a raid, captives not designated for adoption or exchanges by the Indian slavers were kept in holding pens before being taken to the European port towns. The infrastructure in the South at this time consisted mostly of overland trails, so all captives had to be capable of walking very long distances to port towns. This could account for the killing of the very young and the very old; neither had the stamina to make the journey.

We do not have a good reckoning of the number of southern Native peoples who were enslaved. The few accounts of slave raids describe hundreds of women and children taken at a time in a raiding expedition. In the famous slave raids of Spanish Florida of 1704–7, Native slavers captured an estimated 10,000 to 12,000 women and children.<sup>10</sup> Historian Alan Gallay recently calculated that between 1685 and 1715, the Carolinians alone enslaved 24,000 to 51,000 Indians, although he thinks these numbers are low.<sup>11</sup> The Canadians, the English in New England, and the Louisiana French were also engaged in the slave trade, but the number of Southern Indians taken by these traders remains unknown.<sup>12</sup> The exact number of Indians living in the South in 1685 is not firmly known, either, but historian Peter Wood estimates there were around 199,400 people at that time. Thirty years later in 1715, the population dropped to 90,100, a 55 percent loss of population.<sup>13</sup> Combining Wood's and Gallay's figures, slaving could account for as much as half of this population loss during these thirty years. Disease and death in warfare would most likely account for most of the other half.

Taking Gallay's higher figure of 51,000 and breaking it down over thirty years, an average of about 1,700 Indians a year were taken by slave raiders. This number may seem low, but considering that in the beginning years of the slave trade, the population of a simple chiefdom was around 2,000 to 5,000, slave raiders, taking only children and women and killing the rest or forcing them to flee, could decimate a simple chiefdom by capturing only 200 to 500 captives to sell as slaves. Even though some captives were kept within Indian societies through adoption, marriage, exchange, or indigenous slavery, these could not overcome the steep losses from both disease and the selling of slaves. It follows that population recovery would have been almost impossible because the young were killed or enslaved and fertility rates un-

doubtedly bottomed out with the loss of so many women of childbearing age.<sup>14</sup> In other words, the number of people enslaved, as calculated here, indicates that slaving was more than sufficient to stress a simple chiefdom beyond its breaking point, especially if one combines slaving with population losses from disease episodes. Once the slave trade expanded to the Mississippi River, disease moved swiftly throughout the South, following the trade paths that Indian slavers followed.

In fact, in recent years, scholars have argued that depopulation from disease and slaving were primary factors in the Yamasee War. As with many capitalist ventures, the tendency is to overexploit the very resource on which the venture depends. In this case, the “resource” was Indian slaves, and within about eighty years of the inception of the commercial Indian slave trade, southern slavers were simply running out of people to capture and sell. The Native South population collapse was at its nadir by 1715, the result of rampant slaving and widespread disease. Historian Paul Kelton has argued that the root cause for the Yamasee War was demographic. By 1715 over 80 percent of the indigenous peoples of the South had either been enslaved or killed by diseases or warfare. The survivors had moved closer to European colonies or were grouping into formidable coalescent societies such as Apalachicola, Abihka, Tallapoosa, Okfuskee, Alabama, Cherokee, Chickasaw, and Choctaw, against which slavers were finding it increasingly difficult to raid (see Map 8). Simply put, the supply of Indian slaves was nearly gone and the remaining available supply was difficult to obtain. In addition, slave raiders were suffering their own heavy losses that were incurred in slave raiding, especially that of their young men.<sup>15</sup>

As with any economic crisis, desperation bred corruption, and the faltering of the Indian slave trade resulted in an escalation of trader abuses and a breakdown of the imperial rule of only raiding enemy allies. That European traders abused their Indian partners was widely known and had been occurring since the traders first stepped ashore. In the early years, though, traders knew that their success depended on maintaining good relationships, and the abuse was more constrained. By the turn of the eighteenth century, as Europeans gained the upper hand in the trade system, trader abuses became more frequent and more public. When Chickasaw War Chief Oboystabee threatened to expel an English trader in 1702, the Indians held the balance of power in the trade system. By 1715 the scales had tipped in favor of the Europeans, especially the English. With every Indian society now slaving and also surrounded by armed slavers, guns and ammunition became even more

vital, locking the Southern Indians into the trade system. Then, as France and Spain repeatedly showed themselves unable to compete with England in the Indian trade, the English began to emerge as the core imperial power in the commercial winning of America. On the ground, the result was an increase in the abuse by the frontier traders. This abuse took many forms, from outright beatings and mutilations to rape, fraud, lying, plying with alcohol, kidnapping, and murder. By 1710 English-allied Indians had lodged complaints for years to the South Carolina government about abusive traders. Although these complaints were addressed periodically in the various trade acts passed over the years, the South Carolina government, by and large, turned a blind eye to the problem.<sup>16</sup>

Two abuses point out the demographic realities of a collapsing trade in Indian slaves: the confiscation and sale of adopted kin by Carolina traders and the pitting of English-allied slave partners against one another. Although Indian slaving during the colonial years was done primarily for commercial reasons, since it overlay an indigenous system, it played out as a system combining both commercial and indigenous features. As discussed earlier, the indigenous system of slavery was tied to war, in that slaves were taken from a pool of war captives. Captors had complete control over their captives' lives at the time of capture, and unless the captives managed to escape or commit suicide, their fates were in the hands of their captors. However, slavery was but one fate of the war captives. Their captors could also exchange them with foreigners as diplomatic gestures, sell them to others, marry them, or adopt them into their own kin groups. Given the extreme losses of life in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, more and more captors opted to adopt or marry their captives or sell them to other Indians, who then adopted or married them.

Foreigners entered Indian polities in other ways as well. The coalescent societies were composed of many disparate groups, and those seeking admittance to the larger group did so through various channels. For example, recent examinations of the Yuchis' relationship to the Lower Creeks show them to have been admitted to the Creek confederation as a subordinate town and not on an equal footing with the Cussitas, Cowetas, or Hitchiti towns. Likewise, when the Koroas, Taensas, and Yazoos joined the Natchez, they joined through marriage but as part of the Stinkard class, which was at the bottom of the Natchez social ranking. On the other hand, when the Coushattas joined the Alabamas, neither was a functioning chiefdom, and their union largely occurred through intermarriage and as equals. In this

case, the two kept their separate identities and towns, but their lives were thoroughly blended. The Chickasaws, as we have seen, used the fanimingo institution to absorb outsiders, usually the remnants of those they had slaved out. Through the fanimingo, though, the newcomers eventually became fully Chickasaw. By the early seventeenth century, then, Southern Indian communities were not necessarily homogenous groups. Rather, they were often composed of a variety of people originating from far and wide.<sup>17</sup>

In any Southern Indian community, then, one could single out numerous people with foreign roots. Obviously, such a situation also would have been typical in the Mississippian world, with its many pluralistic polities, but the scale of in-migration would have been much larger during the Historic Period. Undoubtedly, former enemy captives and even refugees—many of whom came from former enemy camps—would be looked on with some suspicion since, although separated from their birth kin, they would not necessarily reject their familial loyalties to them. Given the chronic hostilities of the times, life outside the palisade walls would have been exceedingly dangerous; but life inside the walls must have become increasingly uncertain as well. Tension developed within many Indian communities, which recognized the need for additional citizens as their own populations continued to dwindle. Consequently, host communities grew protective of the foreign-born among them, despite the fact that they could not always be trusted. As traders became more and more emboldened to abuse, and as their suppliers failed to supply them with adequate numbers of slaves, traders turned their eye on the foreign-born citizens of the towns in which they resided. Traders now had little compunction about enslaving former captives, regardless of the fact that they were now kith and kin of an allied Indian community. Indian slavers, too, sometimes sold their own adopted kin, which only served to heighten the tensions over the status and role of adopted captives. As the frequency of such sales increased, whole communities grew outraged and confused over the abuses, as well as over the sale of former captives who were now their own kin.<sup>18</sup>

The demographics of the slave trade also contributed to another abuse. As we have seen, European rivals had long used the tactic of using one Indian group against another to secure their imperial borders and to impede any expansionist designs of their competitors. Because their Indian allies demanded it, both the French and the English had outlawed the slaving of their allies. Even so, the practice had been going on since the seventeenth century, when both the Mobile and Carolina governments refused to adequately police the

situation. By 1713, with slavers literally running out of enemies to raid, they began to turn with more frequency on their former friends and allies. Across the South, English-allied Indians increased their raiding of other English-allied Indians, and English traders were openly purchasing the captives from these raids. The Cherokees, for example, turned on the Yuchis, culminating in the famous raid on Chestowee town. The Abihkas and Alabamas turned on the Chickasaws. The Yamasees and Apalachicolas set their slaving sights on the low country Indians. The Esaws raided the Tuscaroras, and vice versa. The Chickasaws, after Nairne's visit, began raiding the Chakchiumas and Yazoos—both English allies. The practice was not limited to only English allies; French officials writing at that time also noted the increase in inter-Indian hostilities between French-allied groups. Many of the captives from these skirmishes ended up in slave shackles. In fact, colonial censuses show the presence of many allied Indians serving as slaves in the colonies. Undoubtedly, many more allied Indians were sold to slavers, who then shipped them elsewhere. Both of these abuses—gathering slaves from adopted kin and slave raiding among putatively allied Indian groups—speak to the ineffectual governmental regulations over the Indian slave trade and, considering the diminishing supply of Indians, the flawed economic logic of a slave trade to take captives from wherever one could acquire them.<sup>19</sup>

The entire American South was now caught in the grim web of commercial Indian slaving, and although the trade had been lucrative for a time, by 1715 it had turned into a house of horrors. No one was safe, and no one was guaranteed that he or she would not suddenly be sold into slavery. Those suffering most from the enterprise—which was by now the whole of the Southern Indians—took up arms in a gallant effort to stop the abuses, the tensions, the fears, and, ultimately, the Indian slave trade itself. The first sign that Indian groups were on the point of rebellion came with the outbreak of the Tuscarora War. After the Occaneechi monopoly was broken in the late seventeenth century, the Tuscaroras stepped in to become the predominant piedmont middlemen in Virginia's Indian trade in skins and slaves. When Carolina was settled, the slave trade widened to the Appalachians and beyond, and the Tuscaroras found themselves increasingly hemmed in by Cherokee and Esaw raiders, thus reducing their resource base for both skins and slaves (see Map 8). European immigration into North Carolina exacerbated the situation, as they settled on coastal Indian lands close to the Tuscarora towns. They also brought more disease to a region already devastated by epidemics. Allied with Virginia rather than Carolina and beset by Carolina-allied sla-



vers, the Tuscaroras began to develop serious malice toward North Carolinians. This malice turned to hostilities in 1711, when a group of Tuscaroras ambushed a Carolina survey team on the Neuse River—a group that included frontiersman John Lawson, who had recorded much about Indian life that he had observed on his forays into the piedmont. A large Tuscarora war party then took to the war path against the North Carolina settlements. Carolina took swift action and collected a militia, first under the leadership of John Barnwell and then James Moore Jr., both of whom subsequently enlisted over 1,000 Indian warriors. Not coincidentally, many of their Indian troops were from the Cherokees, the Esaws, and the small Siouan piedmont groups who had been both targets of and raiders of the Tuscaroras for years.<sup>20</sup>

Like Colonel James Moore Sr.'s raid almost a decade earlier, Barnwell and Moore's expedition against the Tuscaroras had both military and commercial aims; in fact, it appears to have been more of a slaving expedition than a military one. Barnwell and Moore's Indian forces took over 1,000 Tuscarora women and children as captives to sell as slaves, after which many of the Indian forces deserted. Eventually, the whole campaign dissolved into chaos. Even so, Moore managed to break the Tuscarora stronghold, most likely because the Tuscarora forces were weakened when many of them became infected with diseases brought in by the English troops. In the aftermath of the war, the Tuscaroras fled north, where, at the invitation of the Iroquois, they joined the Five Nation Iroquois as the Sixth Nation. The Carolina allies—the Esaws and Cherokees—came away having seen a vulnerable side to Carolina that left a serious taste of disappointment in their mouths.<sup>21</sup>

The Tuscarora War was the first major episode of an organized Indian resistance to the European presence in the American South since the Powhatan wars of the 1640s. The next came right on its heels and involved Indians from Carolina to the Mississippi River. This was the Yamasee War, named for the Yamasees, who made the first strike. On April 15, 1715, Yamasee warriors killed the traders who were among them. One of the casualties was Thomas Nairne, who had arrived in the Yamasee towns just days before to investigate rumors of an imminent uprising and to reassure the Yamasees that they were safe in Carolina's orbit. Within the week, the Apalachicolas, Tallapoosas, Alabamas, Abihkas, Savannah River Shawnees, Savannah River Apalachees, Yuchis, and Choctaws also killed their resident traders, as did the Chickasaws. Later estimates put the number at ninety traders killed in the first few days of the war.<sup>22</sup>

The Yamasees and Apalachicolas were the first to field their war parties,

and both launched attacks on the outer settlements around Charlestown. The degree of involvement of the other conspirators varied, with some sending war parties and others stopping after the killing of the traders. The Talapoosas, Abihkas, and Alabamas followed on the war path, although their involvement would remain peripheral. The Choctaws tacked with the political and military winds and mostly stayed out of the fray. They soon sought to renew their French alliance. The involvement of the Chickasaws was likely minimal and probably went no further than killing their resident traders. The Cherokees, Esaws, and piedmont Siouans were somewhat reluctant to become involved and joined the combatants only much later in the war. Still, these groups endured a terrific blow when Colonel George Chicken invaded the piedmont and the New York governor, at the behest of the governor of Carolina, encouraged and abetted Iroquois warriors in their war against them. By and large, though, the war was conducted by the Yamasees and Apalachicolas, although the conspiracy stretched across the entire South and the entirety of the English trade system there.<sup>23</sup>

The Yamasee War seriously threatened the colony of Carolina, as warriors descended on the Carolina low country and came perilously close to sacking Charlestown. The South Carolina militia, with only a few low country Indian allies, managed to stave off a siege, but the tide turned to Carolina's favor only after they broke the conspiracy by luring the Cherokees away from the alliance. At the outbreak of the war, South Carolina and Virginia enforced a trade embargo on all Indian sales, including, of course, guns and ammunition. The French and Spanish, although assuredly pleased at the outbreak of the war and supporting the Indian troops, could not adequately supply them with munitions. Indian forces soon found themselves low on ammunition and unable to purchase new or additional guns. The Cherokees, who had remained outside of the main battlefronts, were enticed back into a relationship with Carolina by promises of reopening the trade. During negotiations, the Cherokees sparked a Creek-Cherokee war that would last for years when they killed eleven of several hundred Creek emissaries who were coming to meet with Colonel Chicken, the Carolinian leading the talks. The trade embargo forced the hands of the other conspirators as well, and one by one they made peace with Carolina—all except the Yamasees, who continued to raid and harass the settlers for another decade.<sup>24</sup>

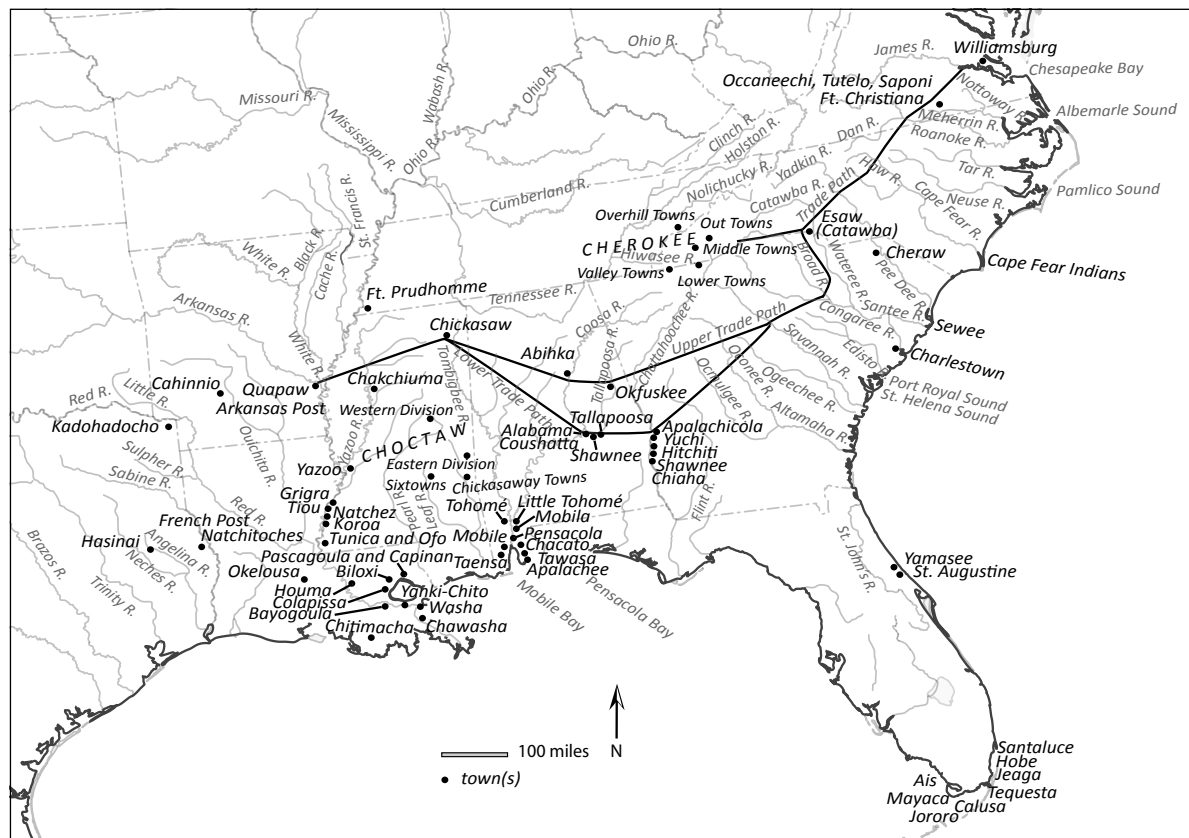
Although the Yamasee War was short-lived, the magnitude of this conspiracy and inter-Indian alliance cannot be overstated. This was the first and only time the Indians of the American South acted in unison to defy the

European and later American invasions into their lands. Not only did it force Carolina to reconsider its position in regard to Indian allies, but it also effectively ended the trade in Indian slaves. After the Yamasee War, the focus of the trade switched from slaves to deerskins, although Indian slaves continued to be bought and sold in small numbers into the nineteenth century and even later. It also marked the emergence of a new social order in the colonial South.

One can see that the Yamasee War was born out of the Mississippian shatter zone. The disruptions, displacements, and reconfigurations of the previous 150 years ensured that there was not a peaceful, orderly transition to a new colonial world. The war was generated by the impact of the Soto invasion, the introduction of Old World diseases, and the commercial trade in Indian slaves—deeply destructive forces that ravaged the Mississippian world and forced a reorganization based on frontier exigencies, shifting alliances, warfare, loss of life, and commercial goals. At the end of the Yamasee War, a new colonial South was in place (Map 9).

Although the Yamasees continued their guerilla raids against the Carolinians, by around 1720 many of them had moved to St. Augustine, where they took up residence among the other refugee mission Indians who were still there (see Maps 8 and 9). They would remain there until 1763, when the few that remained were evacuated to Cuba with the Spanish cession of La Florida to the British. Others moved farther away to the new Spanish fort at Saint Marks, built in 1718, where they remained until the 1763 evacuation from Pensacola to Mexico. The low country Indians, many of whom had not participated in the Yamasee War, left, and many moved north to join the Esaws or west to join the emerging Creek confederacy (see Maps 8 and 9). The Savannah River Apalachees fled to the Mobile Delta, where they joined their former countrymen who were living there. The Savannah River Shawnees split up, with some joining the Iroquois and some moving to the Chattahoochee River (see Map 8).<sup>25</sup>

The Apalachicola, Hitchiti, and other towns on the Ocmulgee returned to the Chattahoochee River, where they took in additional refugees and became known as the Lower Creeks (see Maps 8 and 9). The disparate Yuchi groups in the piedmont joined their kin on the Chattahoochee, making Yuchi Town one of the largest, most prosperous towns of the Lower Creeks (see Maps



8 and 9). The Tallapoosas, Abihkas, Okfuskees, and Alabama-Coushattas had stayed in their locales on the Coosa, Alabama, and Tallapoosa Rivers throughout the early eighteenth century, although the Abihkas now moved slightly downstream to the vicinity of present-day Childersberg, Alabama, where they fused with a local population known only by their archaeological name of the Kumulga-phase people. The four provinces—Okfuskee, Abihka, Tallapoosa, and Alabama-Coushatta—would come to form the Upper Creeks (see Map 9). Led by the Alabamas, they also made a strategic realignment with France after the Yamasee War, ending the conflict with Mobila, Tohomé, Pensacola, and Choctaw. Later, in the middle of the eighteenth century, the Upper Creeks would welcome Natchez, Chickasaw, and Shawnee towns. The original provinces of Apalachicola, Tallapoosa, Okfuskee, Alabama, and Abihka retained political significance into the eighteenth century; but by the late eighteenth century, provincial distinctions began to blur as the Creek Confederacy became a weak alliance of independent towns divided along Upper and Lower divisions. Over the course of the eighteenth century, the Creek Confederacy would play an important role in the European rivalry over the American South, which enabled them to perfect the play-off system until the American Revolution.<sup>26</sup>

The Esaws and Siouan piedmont groups had suffered terribly in the Yamasee War, and afterward a general reshuffling of populations occurred throughout the piedmont. In fact, after the Yamasee War, the North Carolina piedmont became relatively vacant. The Tutelos, Saponis, and Occaneechis moved north, where they joined some Monacans at Fort Christianna on the Meherrin River in southeastern Virginia (see Maps 8 and 9). The group collectively became known as the Saponi or Fort Christianna Indians. The Saras, Enos, and the small Keyauwee town on the Trade Path joined to become the Cheraw on the lower Yadkin; now they moved south to the Pee Dee River in South Carolina (see Maps 8 and 9). The Sissipahaws, Shakoris, Waterees, and Congarees joined the Esaws in the lower Catawba Valley, and the whole soon became known as the Catawba. By 1740 the Cheraws would join them.<sup>27</sup>

The Cherokees, who had been the first to negotiate peace with Carolina, later staged an elaborate pledge of loyalty in Charlestown. Their fealty paid off, and they became good British allies and a cornerstone of the Carolina deerskin trade until the American Revolution. They remained in their homelands until Removal in the late 1830s, although episodic disease epidemics and warfare with the Creeks continued to drain much of their population, resulting in the abandonment of many of the Lower Towns in the mid-eighteenth

century (see Map 9).<sup>28</sup> The Choctaws, although pledging loyalty to France after the Yamasee War, were, in fact, internally divided over their European affairs, and an English faction continued to push their agenda. The English faction began raiding the French-allied Gulf coast Indian groups. And the French faction entered into a prolonged war against the Chickasaw that generated heavy losses on both sides for many years. By the 1720s, the Chickasaws contracted their settlements into two tightly nucleated Large Prairie and Small Prairie sections on King and Town Creeks, and they continued to take in refugees throughout the first decades of the eighteenth century, including many of the Gulf coast groups, as well as people from the Yazoo Basin. By the 1740s, Chickasaws were abandoning the Small Prairie towns and moving into the vicinity of the Large Prairie towns. This is where the English deerskin trader James Adair found them in 1744. In his extensive recounting of his observations on Chickasaw life, Adair does not mention anything about a red and white town division and dual civic and military organizations. Clearly, the dual organization that Nairne had observed in 1708 had lost its usefulness to the Chickasaws, and by 1744 it was muted or greatly diminished.<sup>29</sup>

The Gulf coast Indians, although not involved in the Yamasee War beyond the Tohomé killing of Price Hughes, nevertheless continued to go through a complex array of amalgamations and movements over the next several decades. By 1718 the Colapissas, Bayogoulas, and Houmas were all living between Bayou Lafourche and Lake Pontchartrain on the lower Mississippi and acting as one political unit (see Map 9). The Pascagoulas and Capinans remained on the Pascagoula River until 1718, when they would move closer to New Orleans (see Map 9). The Capinans would eventually become completely absorbed into the Pascagoulas. The Biloxis, who had fled to Lake Pontchartrain because of Choctaw raids, continued to move back and forth between there and the Pearl River. Much later, they would join with the remaining Tunicas. In 1718 the Chitimachas concluded a peace with the French, and they have remained in their original homelands of Bayou Lafourche ever since. In 1713 Bienville had persuaded the Washas, Chawashas, and Yanki-Chitos, who were living near the Chitimachas, to move closer to the Mississippi River, where they could act as French sentinels (see Map 9). They stayed there until 1729, when the French instigated an attack on them by African slaves in which they were nearly wiped out. Afterward, their numbers continued to dwindle, and the last documentary record of them was in 1805.<sup>30</sup>

In the Mobile Delta, the immigrant populations of Pensacolas, Tawasas, Apalachees, and Chacatos maintained small towns along the river and coast (see Map 9). This location proved especially unfortunate, as they were repeatedly struck with multiple disease episodes and took the brunt of English-allied Indian attacks on Mobile. In 1725 the Pensacolas moved to the Pearl River to be near the Biloxis, but there is no record of them after that. The Apalachees eventually moved to the Rapides district in Louisiana after France ceded the region to Spain and Britain in 1763. The Chacato and Tawasa populations dropped so rapidly that even before the Yamasee War there were only about ten families left in each group. Both would eventually join the Upper Creeks at Autauga town.<sup>31</sup> The original inhabitants of the Mobile Delta, the Mobilians, Tohomés, and Little Tohomés, likewise continued to be devastated by disease and imperial wars. By the 1720s, there were only two Mobilian towns left. By the 1760s, some moved to the Manchac area of Louisiana, and some became absorbed into the Choctaws. The Tohomés and Little Tohomés also were greatly reduced. A 1723 estimate had them dwindling from 800 to a mere 80. A few decades later, both groups joined the Choctaws.<sup>32</sup>

The Yazoo Basin groups did not fare much better. As we have seen, the lower Yazoo Basin was abandoned even before the Yamasee War when the Tunicas, Koroas, Tioux, and Grigras fled south due to Chickasaw raiding. The Tunicas had relocated to the mouth of the Red River, and the Tioux and Grigras had joined the Natchez (see Maps 8 and 9). In 1730 the Yazoos, joining in the Natchez Rebellion, revolted against the French, and the French enlisted the Choctaws and Quapaws to exterminate them. The survivors joined the Chickasaws. The Ofos refused to join the Natchez uprising and retreated to the Tunicas, who stood with the French. Both the Tunicas and the Ofos took a terrible beating in the Natchez War, and their towns were reduced to only a few hundred people in total by the 1730s. They would eventually invite the Biloxis to join them. Today, the Tunica-Biloxis remain on the Red River in Marksville, Louisiana. The Chakchiumas, too, sided with the French and joined the Choctaws in their attacks on the Yazoos. By 1750 their numbers were so reduced from war and disease that they amalgamated with the Chickasaws.<sup>33</sup>

The Mississippi River towns of the Quapaws, Taensas, Natchez, and Houmas also continued to suffer the stresses of colonialism. The Taensas and Houmas, as we have seen, had retreated to the lower Mississippi in the early eighteenth century (see Map 8). In 1715 Bienville convinced the Taensas to move their towns closer to Mobile (see Maps 8 and 9). After a series of moves

over the next decades, they eventually joined the Apalachees in the Rapides district in the 1760s. The Houmas remained in and around Bayou Lafourche and are still there today, although they still have not secured national recognition as an American Indian nation. The Quapaws and Natchez remained on the Mississippi River, although both suffered heavy population losses. The Quapaws were there until Indian Removal. In 1729 the Natchez launched a revolt against the French, which ended in the near annihilation of them as well as the Koroas, Tioux, Grigras, and any others who had joined them. The Tioux were later wiped out by the Quapaws, and they do not show up in the documents again. The Grigras, too, drop out of the historical record. Their fate is not known, but they, too, may have joined the Chickasaws. Natchez survivors fled to the Chickasaws and to unknown points west. After their expulsion from Chickasaw country in 1743, they continued east, where they joined the Abihkas as part of the Upper Creeks.<sup>34</sup>

After the Yamasee War, the Chickasaws continued using the play-off system, which intensified their emerging internal factionalism. In 1723 the Anglophile Squirrel King led a whole town to relocate to the Savannah River to be nearer to the English. Two decades later another group would settle a town known as “Breed Camp” on the Coosa River with the Upper Creeks. Chickasaw French partisans continued to seek council in Mobile, and Chickasaw English partisans continued to welcome English packhorse trains into their towns. But when the Chickasaws openly welcomed Natchez refugees after the revolt, Bienville took action. In two skirmishes—the so-called Chickasaw Wars of 1736 and 1739—the Chickasaws handily routed Bienville’s French and Indian troops. The Chickasaws and Choctaws remained bitter enemies well into the eighteenth century, and the French and English continued to use this enmity to push their imperial agendas by abetting and sometimes instigating warfare between the Chickasaws and Choctaws. Due to these hostilities, sometime before the Natchez revolt, the Chickasaws moved off of Coonewah Ridge and pulled their dispersed settlements into tightly nucleated, highly fortified towns along Kings and Town Creeks in present-day Tupelo. The Chickasaws remained in and around present-day Tupelo until Removal, and from there they maintained control over the Upper Trade Path, which continued to be a primary conduit for the trade.<sup>35</sup>

Between 1540 and 1720, the years of the European invasion and the Indian slave trade, the entire geopolitical landscape in the American South was transformed. To call this time and place the Mississippian shatter zone captures something of the nature of this transformation and the historical



forces at play that generated it. We are only just beginning to understand precisely what happened when a Mississippian chiefdom fell; many of them most likely broke apart, although the lines of breakage are unclear. Splinter groups must have migrated short and long distances and joined other splinter groups as they reorganized themselves into altogether new social types. The Gulf coast and Carolina low country Indians, for example, represent new social types. In the case of the low country Indians, these groups did not coalesce but remained small, independent groups living in the Carolina low country until the Yamasee War.<sup>36</sup> Like the low country Indians, the Gulf coast Indians did not coalesce but remained small and independent groups. Unlike the low country Indians, who eventually joined larger coalescent groups, the Gulf coast groups stayed in and around New Orleans throughout the Historic Period, and some are still there today. There, they joined with Africans, Europeans, and other Native refugees to develop a unique economy and Creole culture.<sup>37</sup>

Archaeologist John Worth identifies a social type born out of the geopolitical instability of the contact era that he calls “aggregation,” wherein immigrant communities attached themselves to functioning chiefdoms, presumably in a subordinate position. This process was especially prevalent in Spanish Florida, and many refugees from slaving fled to Florida, where they joined the Apalachee and Timucuan chiefdoms. Aggregation may also have been taking place at Natchez, Kadohadocho, Hasinai, and perhaps even Powhatan, all of which were functioning chiefdoms in the seventeenth century and are known to have taken in refugees.<sup>38</sup> Yet all of the chiefdoms that served as nodes of aggregation could not withstand the sustained instability in the Mississippian shatter zone. Powhatan was destroyed by 1650 after a series of wars with the Virginians. The chiefdoms of Spanish Florida were destroyed by 1710. The Caddo chiefdoms began to break up around the same time, with the survivors reconfiguring themselves into so-called confederacies.<sup>39</sup> The Natchez chiefdom broke apart after the 1729 revolt, with splinter groups joining the Chickasaws, Creeks, Caddos, and others.

Another response to living in the shatter zone was “coalescence,” wherein two or more relocated chiefdoms or splinter groups joined together into a new social formation that did not necessarily resemble preexisting chiefdoms.<sup>40</sup> Although we have yet to pinpoint all of the colonial coalescent societies, for now we can say that in the new social landscape of the eighteenth century, the Yamasees, Creeks, Catawbas, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Caddo confederacies, Alabamas, and perhaps the Cherokees were coalescent soci-

eties. However, as is becoming clear, these groups represent various types of political and social orders, and as this research progresses, we may need to further differentiate between them. For instance, the Yamasee coalescence certainly was not identical to that of the Creeks and may more closely have resembled that of the Catawbas. The Caddo coalescence appears to have been a singular case, perhaps because of the persistence of their chiefly order and their interactions with their western neighbors and the Mexican Spanish.<sup>41</sup> As we have seen, the particular form that a coalescence took and the people who coalesced were contingent on a variety of factors, one being a complex interplay between old lines of chiefdom alliance and animosity, new alliances and animosities, and the shifting nature of both in such uncertain times.<sup>42</sup>

The mechanisms of coalescence, likewise, are only now coming to light. Marriage, adoption, linguistic affiliations, and former chiefdom alliances were all used to glue disparate groups together. In some cases, the mechanism may have determined whether or not a group was absorbed or retained some sort of separate identity. The Natchez and Alabamas, for instance, both used marriage as a way to weave newcomers into extant social orders. In the case of the Natchez, however, the newly married entered on the lower rung of the Natchez social order, whereas among the Alabamas, newcomers who married in entered as full-fledged members of the group. On the other hand, in delineating the origins of the Creek Confederacy, we have seen that migration and coalescence into plural societies were common mechanisms for dealing with chiefdom instability. These mechanisms were most likely put to a new use in the Mississippian shatter zone to merge the polities in present-day central Alabama into the Creek Confederacy and to take in refugee groups. In the case of the Creeks, all of the various groups retained their political and social identities. The Chickasaws, too, put an old social institution to a new use in the Mississippian shatter zone, but with different results. The Chickasaw absorbed people through the fanimingo institution; the Chakchiumas and perhaps others were completely absorbed in the Chickasaw order, and, as far as we can tell, they became Chickasaws. These are just some of the processes identified so far.

As these examples show, although monumental and transformative, contact with Europeans did not leave Native lives absolutely destroyed. The Mississippian world may have collapsed, but in the restructuring that followed, people rebuilt their communities and constructed new social and political organizations using some social institutions that resembled those of their former chiefdoms. The new societies maintained institutions and practices

such as town councils, blood revenge, reciprocity, clan organization, corn agriculture, hunting and gathering, and a matrilineal kin system, all of which had their roots in the Mississippi Period and perhaps even in prior times. These institutions and practices proved to be highly adaptable and could be integrated into the new global economy. For example, the southern Native domestic economy and division of labor were flexible enough to form linkages to the capitalist system. The broad structural patterns of southern Native households show much continuity from the Mississippi Period until the early nineteenth century.

Other institutions, however, were totally transformed. The hierarchical political institutions of the old chiefdoms, for instance, simply did not work in the new geopolitical landscape and capitalist economy. The European trade system worked to transform indigenous leadership institutions by promoting internal factionalism and redefining the basis of power and authority from one of succession through kinship and religious sanction to one of economic prowess and international diplomatic skills. After all, English traders did not have to persuade an anti-English, hereditary mico to come over to their side. They could and did simply ally with another person in that society. Given the disunity of the coalescent societies, usually several men could claim influence over any particular faction. The English chose to deal with whoever seemed most inclined to listen to their overtures, and given the new opportunities for self gain, this could be any number of people. An Indian man who had a modicum of influence over a particular faction could broker good trade deals and rise in prestige and authority. An Indian man's position became tied to his access to European trade goods and his political, business, and diplomatic savvy. The overall effect was at once a leveling of political power and a check on the rise of any one person to political prominence. With the chiefdom political order revamped, we also see the disappearance of those emblems of power and authority associated with the hierarchy. People quit building mounds; craftspeople quit producing elaborate religious and political paraphernalia; the priestly cult used to buttress the elite was transformed into a cadre of prophets administering to the common person; and chiefs were no longer considered to be divine but were merely mortal men. In time, all was replaced by town councils of warriors and elders wherein every man was given equal opportunity to participate in decision making.

Indeed, by 1715 a new social order in the South was emerging. Gone were all the many polities that Soto saw, replaced by large Indian "nations" such as the Creek Confederacy, Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Catawba, and

the Caddo confederacies (see Maps 1 and 9). Each of these nations claimed huge tracts of the interior lands, so much so that the European colonies were still mostly confined to small areas along the coast. Even there, various low country Indians and Gulf coast Indians held onto small landholdings. The colonies, though, soon began to exercise their growing economic strength and launched an era of expansion in population, territory, and ambition. The Europeans divvied up the South among themselves, with slices for Spain, France, and England. Over the next decades, the Indian coalescent societies would take full advantage of this tripartite division. The Creeks, for example, managed to garner especially favorable trade agreements for most of the eighteenth century by playing the international game better—at least in the short run—than the Europeans did. The Creeks used their own internal disunity and decentralized political order to play one European power off of another, thus brokering especially good trade and military agreements.

This new colonial South also included thousands of Africans imported through the African slave trade, which replaced the Indian slave trade. Although their lives were consigned mostly to European settlements and plantations, a number of Africans made their way to Indian country, where they joined the coalescent societies and built homes and families there. A small number of European traders, too, cast their lot in Indian country, where they married Indian women and moved back and forth between their European and Indian circles. An even smaller number of European women also opted to marry, raise families, and live among the Indians rather than among their countrymen. The children from these mixed marriages, through their contacts and comfort in both European and Indian societies, would eventually take the reins of leadership in the coalescent societies.

In this new South, Indians were fully engaged in the global trade system. Cloth, guns, metal tools, and other items were as common and necessary to Indians as they were to Europeans. Only now, the Indian trade was not in slaves but in deerskins, and instead of slave raiders, most of the men became commercial hunters, harvesting millions of deerskins over the eighteenth century. Southern Indian men and women still farmed, hunted wild animals for meat, and gathered wild plant foods, but they also entered into a series of new part-time occupations—guide, translator, mercenary, postal rider, horse trader, slave catcher, prostitute, and so on.

The colonial South after 1715 was a product of the collision of the European world and the Mississippian world. The Mississippian chiefdoms, structured to rise and fall, fell spectacularly with European contact, and they failed

to rise again because of the turmoil and wide regional instability created by the early Spanish explorers, the introduction of Old World diseases, and the increased violence and disruptions caused by the commercial trade in Indian slaves. Faced with the collapse of their Mississippian world, people invented new ways of putting their social lives back together, ways that sought to adapt to a field of play composed of nation-states and a global economic system.

## *Epilogue*

After the Yamasee War, the Chickasaws, as well as the other Southern Indians, segued from trading in Indian slaves to trading in skins, mostly those of the white-tailed deer. Throughout the slaving era, skins and furs had been a part of the trade system, but they took second place to the more highly valued Indian slaves. After the Yamasee War, when slaving was proving to be more difficult, Indian men and women throughout the South increased the amount of skins they were trading, until the deerskin trade came to be one of the most profitable eras in southern history for the English colonies. The deerskin-trade era had its own disruptions and violence, but relative to the earlier slaving era, general stability settled over much of the region, and especially over the large coalescent societies in the interior. Maps from this time period would look quite different from the maps presented in this book. The Chickasaws, already strategically located for the trade, took full advantage of their English connections and geography to flourish during the deerskin-trade era. Archaeological evidence points to a marked increase in trade goods flowing into Chickasaw country, and recent investigations hint at large prosperity for them by the mid-eighteenth century.

The deerskin trade, however, began to decline after the American Revolution. The Chickasaws and other Southern Indians once again cast about for new commodities for the market, and they began to experiment in ranching and commercial farming. Of the two, ranching at first proved especially promising. During this time, many people moved out of their nucleated towns into widely dispersed farms, fanning across the landscape for good access to grasses and other browse for their free-range livestock. At the same

time, the United States began its program of development among Native peoples, attempting to remake them into American yeoman farmers. The government promoted cattle and hog ranching, and the Chickasaws once again proved to be in a good location for the enterprise. The Black Prairie was perfect for free-range ranching, and the Chickasaws adapted well to the changing economic situation. As cotton began to rule the southern economy, however, southern politicians, land speculators, and planters cast their eye over Chickasaw country and, indeed, over all of Indian country in the South. The result was the forced removal of the majority of the Southern Indians to Oklahoma.

The historical trauma of Indian Removal was deep for the Southern Indians, and life in their new lands was difficult for most, as it required much reconfiguring of their economic system, social system, political system, and even what it meant to be Indian. Throughout the nineteenth century, the southern coalescent societies began the long process of nation building in the hopes of standing equal with the United States. However, the Civil War and the Dawes Act of 1887 undermined these efforts and once again left the Indian nations as colonial subjects of the United States. In the postcolonial, late twentieth century, Southern Indian nations experienced a resurgence, and they again embarked on the difficult task of nation building. Indian nations today, after centuries of the shattering effects of colonialism, still have a difficult task ahead of them, as they battle problems such as unemployment, lack of educational opportunities, poverty, and diabetes among their people. What these modern efforts will produce has yet to be seen, but today hundreds of Indian scholars, social workers, teachers, medical professionals, politicians, artists, writers, students, journalists, filmmakers, laborers, elderly people, and others are making their voices heard and laboring hard to improve Indian life across America. To say that an early twenty-first-century renaissance among American Indians is in the making would not be an overstatement, and the Chickasaw Nation, along with many others, are making it happen.

## Notes

### INTRODUCTION

- 1 The term “coalescent society” was coined by Charles Hudson in Ethridge and Hudson, “The Early Historic Transformations,” 38–39. Hudson also discusses the problem of terminology for these Historic Period Indian societies in “Introduction,” xix–xxi. For a sweeping, worldwide comparison of coalescent societies see Kowalewski, “Coalescent Societies.”
- 2 Hudson, “Introduction,” xxxviii–xxxix.
- 3 I take the term “foundational experience” from Blackhawk, who, in *Violence over the Land*, 9, 239, uses the term in reference to how EuroAmerican expansion impacted Native peoples.
- 4 First set forth in Ethridge, “Creating the Shatter Zone,” 207–18. For a fuller treatment, see Ethridge, “Introduction: Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone.” Hudson first enumerated some of these in “Introduction,” xxii–xxxvi, where he identifies the forces that caused this collapse and transformation as military losses at the hands of early explorers and destabilization of Native chiefdoms, the introduction of Old World diseases, and political and economic incorporation into the modern world system.
- 5 My suggestion of such widespread colonial shatter zones builds on Ferguson and Whitehead’s “tribal zones” as enunciated in *War in the Tribal Zone*.
- 6 For more information on the Chickasaw Nation, visit their website at (<http://www.chickasaw.net>).
- 7 For some contemporary use of oral traditions by southern Indian groups, see Chaudhuri and Chaudhuri, *A Sacred Path*; Conley, *Cherokee Medicine Man*; Jackson, *Yuchi Ceremonial Life*; Lewis and Jordan, *Creek Indian Medicine Ways*; Mould, *Choctaw Prophecy*; and Lankford, *Looking for Lost Lore*.
- 8 For examples of the use of oral traditions in southern Indian scholarship, see Reilly and Garber, *Ancient Objects*; Hudson, *Conversations*; Lankford, *Looking for Lost Lore*; Hahn, “Cussita Migration Legend”; Jeter, “Shatter Zone Shock Waves”; and Keyes, “Myth and Social History.”
- 9 Galloway, “Ethnohistory,” 92–98.
- 10 Hudson and Tesser, “Introduction,” 13.



- 11 For an essay describing this research and the subsequent paradigm shift in Southern Indian studies, see Pluckhahn, Ethridge, Milanich, and Smith, "Introduction."
- 12 These four maps were inspired by those of Marvin T. Smith in "Aboriginal Population Movements in the Early Historic Period Southeast."

#### CHAPTER I

- 1 Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 259.
- 2 The Soto expedition was one of several failed European expeditions sent to explore and settle colonies on the North American continent. In the South, in 1513 and again in 1521, Ponce de Leon attempted to settle a colony in present-day Florida. In 1526 Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón attempted to settle a colony off the coast of present-day South Carolina. And, in 1528, Pánfilo de Narváez attempted an overland expedition into present-day Florida. After Soto, Europeans made several more attempts. In 1554 Tristán de Luna attempted to settle a colony at Pensacola Bay. In 1562 Jean Ribault attempted to colonize an island off the coast of present-day South Carolina for the French. In 1564 the Frenchman René de Laudonnière settled Fort Caroline in northern Florida, but the fort was destroyed by the Spanish soon after Don Pedro Menéndez de Avilés established St. Augustine in 1565, the first permanent European settlement in North America.
- 3 The term "chiefdom" is used to designate a social type within a social spectrum that includes other social types such as state, nation, kingdom, band, and tribe. In recent years, some archaeologists have questioned the utility of using these social types; see especially Kehoe, *The Land of Prehistory*; and Pauketat, *Chiefdoms and Other Archaeological Delusions*.
- 4 The literature on the Mississippi Period is quite extensive. Some good book-length treatments are Anderson, *Savannah River Chiefdoms*; Blitz and Lorenz, *Chattahoochee Chiefdoms*; Dye and Cox, *Towns and Temples*; King, *Etowah*; Knight and Steponaitis, *Archaeology of the Moundville Chiefdom*; and Pauketat, *Cahokia*.
- 5 For the most recent statements on differing Mississippian leadership patterns, see the essays in Butler and Welch, *Leadership and Polity in Mississippian Society*.
- 6 On the stone-hoe production and trade, see Cobb, *From Quarry to Cornfield*. On salt production, see Muller, "Mississippian Specialization and Salt"; Muller, *Mississippian Political Economy*; and Early, *Caddoan Saltmakers*.
- 7 Dye, "Art, Ritual, and Chiefly Warfare," 193, 191–205.
- 8 Recent overviews of the archaeology and reconstruction of Cahokia history are Milner, *Cahokia Chiefdom*; and Pauketat, *Cahokia*. For the most recent archaeological investigations at Cahokia, see Emerson, "Contributions of Transportation Archaeology." One can visit the imposing center of Cahokia at the Cahokia Mounds State Historic Site, just east of present-day St. Louis, Missouri.
- 9 Steponaitis, "Location Theory and Complex Chiefdoms"; Anderson, *Savannah River Chiefdoms*, 4–9; Hally, Smith, and Langford, "Archaeological Reality"; Hally, "Territorial Size."
- 10 Quote is from Hudson, Beck, DePratter, Ethridge, and Worth, "On Interpreting Cofitachequi," 467. On the political workings of paramount chiefdoms, see Hally, Smith, and Langford, "Archaeological Reality"; Hally, "The Nature of Mississippian Regional Systems"; Beck, "Consolidation and Hierarchy"; and Worth, "An Ethnohistorical Synthesis."
- 11 DePratter, "Late Prehistoric and Early Historic Chiefdoms"; Anderson, *Savannah River*

- Chiefdoms*; Blitz, "Mississippian Chiefdoms and the Fusion-Fission Process," 583–90; Hally, "Nature of Mississippian Regional Systems," 33–37; Pollack, *Caborn-Welborn*, 19–24. Also see the essays in Scarry, *Political Structure and Change*.
- 12 Hally, "Nature of Mississippian Regional Systems," 26, 30–32; Pollock, in *Caborn-Welborn*, 179–82, 192–99, 199–206, also documents regional readjustments after the fall of the Angel chiefdom during the Middle Mississippi on the lower Ohio River.
  - 13 Townsend and Sharp, *Hero, Hawk, and Open Hand*; Reilly and Garber, *Ancient Objects*.
  - 14 Knight, "Farewell"; James A. Brown, "Sequencing the Braden Style," 242–44; Reilly and Garber, "Introduction," 4–5.
  - 15 Lankford, "Some Cosmological Motifs," 14–15, 21–27; Reilly, "People of Earth," 127–29. Charles Hudson, in *Conversations*, renders these myths and archaeological data into a fictional account of a Coosa priest explaining Coosa theology to a sixteenth-century Catholic priest.
  - 16 Lankford, "World on a String," 208–11; Lankford, "Some Cosmological Motifs," 19, 24–29; in this case, Lankford interprets the crested birds to be representatives of Wind. Hudson, *Southeastern Indians*, 132; Mooney, *Myths of the Cherokees*.
  - 17 Hudson, *Southeastern Indians*, 134; Lankford, "Some Cosmological Motifs," 22–23.
  - 18 Lankford, "The 'Path of Souls'"; Lankford, "World on a String," 211–13.
  - 19 Lankford, "Some Cosmological Motifs," 20–21; Reilly, "People of Earth," 131–36.
  - 20 Lankford, "Some Cosmological Motifs," 21–25; Reilly, "People of Earth," 127–29; Hudson, *The Southeastern Indians*, 123–25; Hudson, *Conversations*, 38–51.
  - 21 Hudson, *The Southeastern Indians*, 156–60; Mooney, *Myths of the Cherokees*, 242–49.
  - 22 Reilly, "People of Earth," 127–29, 131–36; Lankford, "World on a String," 213–15; Hudson, *The Southeastern Indians*, 122–28.
  - 23 Hudson, *The Southeastern Indians*, 144–47; Lankford, "The Great Serpent"; Lankford, "World on a String," 213–15.
  - 24 Mooney, *Myths of the Cherokees*, 278–79.
  - 25 Knight, "Institutional Organization," 879; Reilly, "People of Earth," 134–35; Hudson, *Conversations*, 52–71.
  - 26 James A. Brown, "The Cahokian Expression"; James A. Brown, "On the Identity of the Birdman."
  - 27 Hudson, *The Southeastern Indians*, 148, 156, 173–74; Lankford, "Some Cosmological Motifs."
  - 28 Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 229–31; Knight, "Institutional Organization," 879–82; Reilly and Garber, "Introduction," 6.
  - 29 Brown, "Sequencing the Braden Style," 241–44; Steponaitis and Knight, "Moundville Art," 180; Hudson, Smith, Hally, Polhemus, and DePratter, "Coosa," 732–33; Hally, Smith, and Lankford, "Archaeological Realities of Coosa"; Livingood, "Theories to Explain the Lack of Confederation."
  - 30 These narratives have been translated and collected in Clayton, Knight, and Moore, *The De Soto Chronicles*. Over the past fifteen or so years, scholars have vetted these narratives in various ways. See Galloway, *The Hernando de Soto Expedition*; Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 441–55; Lankford, "How Historical Are the De Soto Chronicles?"; and Ethridge, Braund, Clayton, Lankford, and Murphy, "Comparative Analysis of the De Soto Accounts."
  - 31 Hudson, *Knights of Spain*; Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expeditions*.

- 32 Hudson, in *Knights of Spain*, reconstructs the geopolitical landscape of the Mississippian South at the time Soto came through the region. I refer readers to this work for a good understanding of the Mississippian world at the time of contact.
- 33 Smith, *Coosa*.
- 34 Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 14.
- 35 Blitz and Lorenz, *Chattahoochee Chiefdoms*.
- 36 Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 231; Knight, *The Search for Mabila*. Archaeologist Ned Jenkins proposes that some people from Tascalusa may have established a town in Talisi sometime between 1500 and 1585. He understands the ceramics from the Ebert Canebrake site to strongly resemble ceramics from the upper Alabama River, where Tascalusa's chiefdom was centered; see Jenkins, "Tracing the Origins of the Early Creeks," 214–15, 221.
- 37 Biedma, "Relation," 232–36; Rangel, "Account," 291–94; Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 96–105; Galloway, *Choctaw Genesis*, 111.
- 38 Biedma, "Relation," 235–36; Rangel, "Account," 294; Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 104–5.
- 39 Biedma, "Relation," 235–36; Rangel, "Account," 294; Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 104–5; Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 247–48.
- 40 Biedma, "Relation," 236; Rangel, "Account," 294–97; Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 105; Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 250–59.
- 41 Biedma, "Relation," 236; Rangel, "Account," 294–97; Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 105; Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 250–59.
- 42 Biedma, "Relation," 236; Rangel, "Account," 294–97; Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 105; Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 250–59.
- 43 Hudson, Smith, and DePratter, "Hernando de Soto Expedition: From Mabila to the Mississippi," 191–92; Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 271, Map 7.
- 44 Smith and Hally, "Chiefly Behavior," 100, 102. On greeting rituals, see Lankford, *Looking for Lost Lore*, 98–114.
- 45 Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 105.
- 46 Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 259.
- 47 Ibid., 40–41.
- 48 Biedma, "Relation," 236; Rangel, "Account," 297; Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 105; Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 259–60; Dye, "Warfare in the Sixteenth Century," 219.
- 49 Biedma, "Relation," 236; Rangel, "Account," 297; Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 105; Dye, "Warfare in the Sixteenth Century," 219.
- 50 Atkinson, *Splendid Land*, 7; Jay K. Johnson, "The Chickasaws," 88; Rafferty, "Prehistoric Settlement Patterning," 169, 190.
- 51 Blitz, *Ancient Chiefdoms of the Tombigbee*, 52–68, 179.
- 52 Ibid., 69–97, 123–25, 176–78, 180–81; see also Wesson, "Chiefly Power and Food Storage," 154–56.
- 53 Blitz, *Ancient Chiefdoms of the Tombigbee*, 32–33, 98–125.
- 54 Ibid., 96–97, 123–25.
- 55 Ibid., 39–68.
- 56 Ibid., 50–51, 181–83. The Tombigbee ceramics are Summerville I–IV phases and the Tibbee Creek/Sorrells phase; the Moundville ceramics are the Moundville I–IV phases.
- 57 Jay K. Johnson, "The Chickasaws," 88–89; Blitz, *Ancient Chiefdoms of the Tombigbee*, 50–51; Livingood, "Re-evaluating the Origins of the Sixtowns Band"; Anderson, *Savannah River Chiefdoms*; Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 28–30.

- 58 For a recent synthesis of the central Alabama connections to Moundville, see Jenkins, "Tracing the Origins of the Early Creeks."
- 59 Blitz, *Ancient Chiefdoms of the Tombigbee*, 50–52, 56–59.
- 60 Atkinson, "The De Soto Expedition"; Hudson, Smith, and DePratter, "The Hernando de Soto Expedition: From Mabila to the Mississippi River," 194; Morgan, "Historic Period Chickasaw," 5. Researchers believe that the main town of Chicaza may have been in present-day southwestern Monroe County, central or eastern Clay County, eastern Oktibbeha County or Lowndes County, or even northern Noxubee County, Mississippi.
- 61 Jay K. Johnson, "From Chiefdom to Tribe," 302; DePratter, "Late Prehistoric and Early Historic Chiefdoms," 56, 208.
- 62 Johnson and Sparks, "Protohistoric Settlement Patterns"; Jay K. Johnson, "The Chickasaws"; Jay K. Johnson, "From Chiefdom to Tribe."
- 63 Hogue and Peacock, "Environmental and Osteological Analysis"; Peacock, "Test Excavations"; Rafferty, "Prehistoric Settlement Patterning"; Jenkins, "Tracing the Origins of the Early Creeks," 229–30.
- 64 Hudson, Smith, and DePratter, "The Hernando de Soto Expedition: From Mabila to the Mississippi," 193; Rafferty, *Owl Creek Mounds*; Atkinson, *Splendid Land*, 6.
- 65 Marshall, "The Protohistoric Component"; Peacock and Hogue, "A New Series of Absolute Dates"; Evan Peacock, personal communication, 2008.
- 66 Rafferty, "Prehistoric Settlement Patterning"; Peacock and Hogue, "A New Series of Absolute Dates."
- 67 Atkinson, "The De Soto Expedition," 63; Blitz, *Ancient Chiefdoms of the Tombigbee*, 45–49.
- 68 Hudson, Smith, and DePratter, "The Hernando de Soto Expedition: From Mabila to the Mississippi," 194; Brain, "Late Prehistoric Settlement Patterning in the Yazoo Basin"; Steponaitis, "Contrasting Patterns"; Kowalewski and Hatch, "Sixteenth-Century Expansion"; Scarry, "The Rise, Transformation, and Fall of Apalachee."
- 69 Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 105.
- 70 Blitz and Livingood, "Sociological Implications of Mississippian Mound Volume."
- 71 Jay K. Johnson, "The Chickasaws," 88–89.
- 72 Biedma, "Relation," 236; Rangel, "Account," 297; Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 106; Smith and Hally, "Chiefly Behavior," 100–105.
- 73 Biedma, "Relation," 236; Rangel, "Account," 297; Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 106.
- 74 Smith and Hally, "Chiefly Behavior"; Lankford, *Looking for Lost Lore*, 98–114.
- 75 Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 106.
- 76 Biedma, "Relation," 236–37; Rangel, "Account," 297–98; Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 105 (quote), 106–7; Hudson, Smith, and DePratter, "The Hernando de Soto Expedition: From Mabila to the Mississippi," 195.
- 77 Blitz, *Ancient Chiefdoms of the Tombigbee*, 107–8.
- 78 Ibid., 112–15; Johnson, O'Hear, Ethridge, Lieb, Scott, Jackson, and Jacobi, "Measuring Chickasaw Adaptation," 16–17.
- 79 Biedma, "Relation," 236; Rangel, "Account," 297; Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 105. For a detailed study of the impact of the Little Ice Age on human history, see Fagan, *The Little Ice Age*.
- 80 Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 265.
- 81 Rangel, "Account," 297.
- 82 Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 365.

- 83 Biedma, "Relation," 263–37; Rangel, "Account," 297–98; Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 105–9.
- 84 Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 107.
- 85 Dye, "Warfare in the Sixteenth Century," 215–16; Rangel, "Account," 297; Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 106.
- 86 Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 106.
- 87 Ibid., 106; Rangel, "Account," 297.
- 88 Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 106; Rangel, "Account," 297.
- 89 The chroniclers, of course, spelled Indian names phonetically, and the name "Miculasa" may contain the word "mico" in it.
- 90 Blitz, "Mississippian Chiefdoms and the Fusion-Fission Process," 585–87, 589–90.
- 91 Hudson, Smith and DePratter, "The Hernando de Soto Expedition: From Mabila to the Mississippi," 197; Atkinson, in the "The De Soto Expedition," 64, places Sacchuma west of Chicaza.
- 92 Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 106; Rangel, "Account," 297; Hudson, Smith, and DePratter, "The Hernando de Soto Expedition: From Mabila to the Mississippi," 196–98; Blitz, *Ancient Chiefdoms of the Tombigbee*, 48–49.
- 93 Stephen Williams, "The Vacant Quarter"; Cobb and Butler, "The Vacant Quarter Revisited."
- 94 Blitz, *Ancient Chiefdoms of the Tombigbee*, 45, 52.
- 95 Biedma, "Relation," 238; Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 111; Rangel, "Account," 299.

#### CHAPTER 2

- 1 Biedma, "Relation," 236; Rangel, "Account," 297 (quote); Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 106 (quote).
- 2 Rangel, "Account," 297 (quote); Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 106. According to Biedma, "Relation," 236, Soto did not know about the Indians' plan at this time.
- 3 Rangel, "Account," 298 (quote); Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 107.
- 4 Biedma, "Relation," 236–37 (quote on 236); Rangel, "Account," 297–98; Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 107.
- 5 Biedma, "Relation," 237 (quote); Rangel, "Account," 297–98; Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 107–8.
- 6 Dye, "Warfare in the Sixteenth Century," 218–20.
- 7 Payne, "Architectural Reflections of Power"; Lewis and Stout, *Mississippian Towns*; Dye, "Warfare in the Sixteenth Century," 214; Dye, "Art, Ritual, and Chiefly Warfare," 193–94; James A. Brown, "On the Identity of the Birdman"; Keyes, "Myth and Social History."
- 8 Dye, "War Paths," 160–66.
- 9 Knight, "Institutional Organization," 678–79, 681; Knight, "Symbolism of Mississippian Mounds."
- 10 Lorenz, "The Natchez," 150. It is unclear whether there were two offices—a War Chief and a War Priest—or only one that combined both ritual and military duties.
- 11 Hudson, *Southeastern Indians*, 239–57; Dye, "Warfare in the Protohistoric Southeast," 133–34; Dye, "Ritual, Medicine, and the War Trophy," 156–60; Lorenz, "The Natchez," 160–63.
- 12 On the possibilities of an archaeological signature for the war chief, see Blitz, *Ancient Chiefdoms of the Tombigbee*, 100–104; Scarry and Maxham, "Elite Actors," 147; Scarry and Maxham, "Political Offices," 200. On Mound 72, see James A. Brown, "Where's the

- Power in Mound Building?," 203–10; Kehoe, "Osage Texts," 256–57; and Alt, "Unwilling Immigrants."
- 13 Worth, "An Ethnohistorical Synthesis"; Scarry and Maxham, "Elite Actors," 148, 150; Knight, "Institutional Organization"; Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 63, 215, 263; Beck, "Catawba Coalescence," 124–25.
  - 14 Beck, "Consolidation and Hierarchy," 645–46; Lorenz, "The Natchez," 158–59; Blitz, "Mississippian Chiefdoms and the Fission-Fusion Process," 589.
  - 15 Knight, "Moundville as a Diagrammatic Ceremonial Center."
  - 16 Worth, "An Ethnohistorical Synthesis"; Scarry and Maxham, "Elite Actors," 148–53.
  - 17 Blitz, *Ancient Chiefdoms of the Tombigbee*, 102–4; Lorenz, "The Natchez," 154–55.
  - 18 Dye, "Warfare in the Protohistoric Southeast," 132–35; Lorenz, "The Natchez," 156.
  - 19 Dye, "Warfare in the Protohistoric Southeast," 133–34.
  - 20 Ibid., 134.
  - 21 Ibid., 132–33; Dye, *War Paths*, 154–55, 157.
  - 22 Dye, "Warfare in the Protohistoric Southeast," 132–33; Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 21.
  - 23 Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 106; Ethridge, Braund, Clayton, Lankford, and Murphy, "A Comparative Analysis," 170–71.
  - 24 Dye, "Warfare in the Protohistoric Southeast," 131–32.
  - 25 Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 74–76.
  - 26 Dye, "Warfare in the Protohistoric Southeast," 129–30; Dye, *War Paths*, 156–57.
  - 27 Dye, "Warfare in the Protohistoric Southeast," 132; Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 17–19.
  - 28 Dye, "Warfare in the Protohistoric Southeast," 132; Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 19, 73–74.
  - 29 Dye, "Warfare in the Protohistoric Southeast," 132; Dye, "Warfare in the Sixteenth Century," 218–19; Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 14.
  - 30 King, *Etowah*, 78–80, 130–31.
  - 31 Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 294.
  - 32 Dye, "Warfare in the Sixteenth Century," 217, 219.
  - 33 Garcilaso, "La Florida," 371.
  - 34 Dye, "Warfare in the Protohistoric Southeast," 137–38; Dye, "Ritual, Medicine, and the War Trophy."
  - 35 Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 60–61; Rangel, "Account," 255–56; Biedma, "Relation," 223; Garcilaso, "La Florida," 102–3; Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 78–85; Snyder, *Slavery in Indian Country*, 35–40.
  - 36 Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 60–61; Rangel, "Account," 255–56; Biedma, "Relation," 223; Garcilaso, "La Florida," 102–3; Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 78–85.
  - 37 Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 60–61, 62 (quote); Rangel, "Account," 255–56; Biedma, "Relation," 223; Garcilaso, "La Florida," 102–3; Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 78–85.
  - 38 Fowler, Rose, Leest, and Ahler, *The Mound 72 Area*; Ambrose, Buikstra, and Kreuger, "Status and Gender Differences"; and Alt, "Unwilling Immigrants."
  - 39 Biedma, "Relation," 237; Rangel, "Account," 298; Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 108. The woman's name is provided by Garcilaso, "La Florida," 370.
  - 40 Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 108.
  - 41 Biedma, "Relation," 237 (quote); Rangel, "Account," 298; Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 108–9 (quote on 109).
  - 42 Only Garcilaso's informant, Alonso de Carmona, provided the name of this small town, Chicacilla; see Garcilaso, "La Florida," 372, 373. Because the mico of Chicaza lived here, Atkinson, in *Splendid Land*, 8, proposes that this may have been the central mound

- town of Chicaza, and he speculates that it may be the Lyon's Bluff site. On the other hand, Hudson, Smith, and DePratter, in "The Hernando de Soto Expedition: From Mabila to Mississippi," 196, suggest that the Lyon's Bluff site may be the main town of the Alimamu province. They do not give any suggestions as to the location of Chicacilla.
- 43 Charles Hudson, personal communication, 2008.
  - 44 Biedma, "Relation," 237; Rangel, "Account," 298; Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 109.
  - 45 Biedma, "Relation," 237; Rangel, "Account," 298; Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 108–9.
  - 46 The seven-day travel figure comes from Elvas; Biedma reported that it was a twelve-day march because of the difficulty of carrying so many wounded and sick. Rangel later reported that it took them nine days to cross it. Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 109; Biedma, "Relation," 238; Rangel, "Account," 299.
  - 47 Garcilaso, "La Florida," 374; Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 109.
  - 48 Biedma, "Relation," 237; Rangel, "Account," 299; Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 109. The detail about the numerous hamlets comes only from Garcilaso, "La Florida," 379. Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 271, proposes that the Lyon's Bluff mound site may have been the principal town of Alimamu. A few sixteenth-century Spanish artifacts have been found there, but recent carbon 14 dates show that, although the site was occupied at the time of Soto, its peak came much earlier, during the fifteenth century. Peacock and Hogue, "A New Series of Absolute Dates"; Evan Peacock, personal communication, 2008.
  - 49 Biedma, "Relation," 238; Rangel, "Account," 299; Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 109.
  - 50 Biedma, "Relation," 237–38; Rangel, "Account," 299; Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 109–10; Garcilaso, "La Florida," 373–83.
  - 51 Biedma, "Relation," 237–38; Rangel, "Account," 299; Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 109–10.
  - 52 Ibid.
  - 53 Hudson, in *Knights of Spain*, 272, makes this point.
  - 54 Biedma, "Relation," 237–38; Rangel, "Account," 299; Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 109–10. On the other hand, Rangel, in "Account," 299, stated that many more Indians were killed than Spaniards.
  - 55 Garcilaso, "La Florida," 382–83; Dye, "Warfare in the Protohistoric Southeast," 128; Lankford, "Red and White," 78–79; Van Horne, "The Warclub."
  - 56 Biedma, "Relation," 237–38.

### CHAPTER 3

- 1 Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 110–15, 238–49, 266–74, 336–38.
- 2 Blitz, *Ancient Chiefdoms of the Tombigbee*, 69–97, 123–25, 176–78, 180–81; Wesson, "Chiefly Power and Food Storage," 157–58.
- 3 Worth, "An Ethnohistorical Synthesis"; Blitz, "Mississippian Chiefdoms and the Fusion-Fission Process," 583–87; Blitz, *Ancient Chiefdoms of the Tombigbee*, 12–13; Hally, "The Territorial Size"; Hally, "Platform Mound Construction"; Anderson, *Savannah River Chiefdoms*, 28–34; Williams and Shapiro, "Paired Towns." On Apalachee, see Hann, *Apalachee*; and Scarry and Maxham, "Elite Actors," 152.
- 4 Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 179–80, 228–29.
- 5 Smith, *Coosa*, 34–49, 85–87; Jenkins, "Tracing the Origins of the Early Creeks," 219–

20. DePratter, Hudson, and Smith, "Hernando de Soto Expedition: From Chiaha to Mabila," 120, place Talisi on the Coosa River near Childersburg, Alabama, probably corresponding to the Kymulga-phase people. However, a recent reevaluation of central Alabama during the protohistoric period places it on the lower Tallapoosa; see Jenkins, "Tracing the Origins of the Early Creeks," 219–20; and Waselkov, Derry, and Jenkins, "Archaeology of Mabila's Cultural Landscape," 229–30.
- 6 Smith, *Coosa*, 32, 43–44.
- 7 Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 39–46.
- 8 Smith, *Coosa*, 96–121.
- 9 In this scenario, the paramountcy of Coosa fell, and it did so along the time line set by Smith in *Coosa*, 96–121. The difference is that I propose the reasons for the fall were not primarily disease episodes. This is in contrast to Paul Hoffman, who, by examining the documentary evidence, challenges whether or not Coosa fell in the first place. Hoffman, however, does not reexamine the archaeological evidence for the decline of Coosa that Smith used in his reconstruction. See Paul Hoffman, "Did Coosa Decline?"
- 10 Smith, *Coosa*, 103–4, 107–9.
- 11 Determining when bison first entered the South is important, as it may be an indirect measure of social collapse. There is little evidence of bison in the South prior to the Late Mississippi and early Historic periods. Researchers have concluded that this is because the density of people in the South during the Mississippi Period would have seriously limited the animal's range. However, the late fifteenth-century reorganization as well as the seventeenth-century collapse of the Mississippian world could have opened an opportunity for bison's migration into the South. For discussions on bison in the South, see Rostlund, "Geographic Range"; and Johnson, Scott, Atkinson, and Shea, "Late Prehistoric/Protohistoric Settlement."
- 12 Smith, *Coosa*, 105–7 (quote on 106), 110–11.
- 13 Sheldon, "Introduction," 23; Jenkins, "Tracing the Origins of the Early Creeks," 200–216; Regnier, "Examination of the Social Composition," 6 (Figure 4), 128, 243–51; Regnier, "A Stylistic Analysis," 128; Regnier, "What Indian Pottery of Sixteenth-Century Central Alabama Looks Like." For detailed discussions of these Late Mississippian developments in central Alabama, see Regnier, "Examination of the Social Composition"; and Jenkins, "Tracing the Origins of the Early Creeks." The Lamar culture encompassed several Mississippian polities over a large area covering parts of east Alabama, north Florida, South and North Carolina, Tennessee, and all of Georgia. See Hally, "An Overview of Lamar."
- 14 Jenkins, "Tracing the Origins of the Early Creeks," 214–16, 221, 223; Sheldon, "Present State of Archaeological Survey," 120; Waselkov, Derry, and Jenkins, "Archaeology of Mabila's Cultural Landscape," 230–31. I also must note that the radio carbon dates discussed throughout this book are taken from many works published over several decades; hence, dates from more current publications are usually calibrated, whereas dates from older publications are not. The differences between calibrated and uncalibrated dates can be on the order of a century or more.
- 15 Tascalusa's paramountcy may also have included Piachi, but archaeologists are not in agreement as to whether or not Piachi was a town of the Tascalusa province or a simple chiefdom under the influence of Tascalusa; see Waselkov, Derry, and Jenkins, "Archaeology of Mabila's Cultural Landscape," 232–33; Jenkins, "Tracing the Origins of the Early Creeks," 222; and Regnier, "Examination of the Social Composition," 258. Regnier, in "Examination of the Social Composition," 256–61, proposes that Tascalusa



- was not a paramount chief but rather the leader of a loose alliance of multiethnic, simple chiefdoms and towns that formed a confederation in response to an outside threat.
- 16 Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 104; Rangel, "Account," 294.
  - 17 Priestly, *Luna Papers*, 291; Galloway, "Choctaw Genesis," 161; Hudson, Smith, DePratter, and Kelley, "Tristán de Luna Expedition," 36–39; Jenkins, "Tracing the Origins of the Early Creeks," 224–27; Regnier, "A Stylistic Analysis," 127–28; Regnier, "What Indian Pottery of Sixteenth-Century Central Alabama Looks Like"; Regnier, "Examination of the Social Composition," 97–98, 103–4; Regnier, "Tracing the Roots of the Creek Confederacy."
  - 18 Although widely used in Southeastern archaeology, the utility of the "phase" concept has come under scrutiny, and Amanda Regnier, in "Examination of the Social Composition," 5–15, has questioned its utility for the Alabama River basin in particular. Regnier devises a new concept that she calls ceramic "models," which she understands to provide a better resolution of pottery making and to capture the multiple traditions extant at Late Mississippian sites on the upper Alabama River.
  - 19 Regnier, "A Stylistic Analysis," 121, 130–32; Regnier, "Examination of the Social Composition." For a summary of the Alabama River phase, see Jenkins, "Tracing the Origins of the Early Creeks," 224–27. In terms of the urn burials, it should be noted that archaeologists have also found a few urn burials in which the disarticulated skeletons of adults have been placed. Typically, though, adults from the Alabama River phase were usually defleshed, and then their bones were buried in an earthen grave. Also, Regnier, in "A Stylistic Analysis," 127, found urn burials in the Late Mississippian sites, and she puts the beginning of this practice in the Black Warrior and Alabama River regions as early as 1540 C.E. and ending by 1686 C.E.
  - 20 Jenkins, "Tracing the Origins of the Early Creeks," 222; Regnier, "A Stylistic Analysis," 128; Sheldon, "Present State of Archaeological Survey," 120–23; Waselkov, Derry, and Jenkins, "Archaeology of Mabila's Cultural Landscape," 232–33; DePratter, Hudson, and Smith, "Hernando de Soto Expedition: From Chiaha to Mabila," 122. For a discussion of the current state of knowledge in the search for Mabila, see Knight, *The Search for Mabila*. The work continues on finding Piachi, and recent research suggests it may be south of the Durant Bend site.
  - 21 Regnier, "A Stylistic Analysis," 130–32; Regnier, "Examination of the Social Composition," 146; Regnier, "Tracing the Roots of the Creek Confederacy"; Regnier, "What Indian Pottery of Sixteenth-Century Central Alabama Looks Like"; Jenkins, "Tracing the Origins of the Early Creeks," 224–27. Instead of Alabama River phase, Regnier uses the term "Burial Urn Culture" to describe similar ceramic styles and mortuary practices that emerged in the late sixteenth century across central Alabama. Regnier, however, distinguishes three separate manifestations of the Burial Urn Culture: one on the upper Alabama, one on the middle Alabama, and one on the Black Warrior—corresponding roughly to the Late Mississippian polities of Tascalusa, Mabila, and Apafalaya, respectively. In other words, Regnier does not see a leveling of political orders at this time but rather a diminished continuation of the orders extant at the time of Soto. Regnier, "A Stylistic Analysis," 128–32; Regnier, "Examination of the Social Composition," 131, 132, 259; Regnier, "Tracing the Roots of the Creek Confederacy."
  - 22 Regnier, "A Stylistic Analysis," 130 (Figure 12), 131, 132. Regnier's ceramic analysis of these Black Prairie sites shows that once they were in the Black Prairie, people began using fossil shell as a tempering agent. Fossil-shell-tempered ceramics show up on early

- seventeenth-century sites around the juncture of the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers. Regnier, "A Stylistic Analysis," 131; Regnier, "Tracing the Roots of the Creek Confederacy."
- 23 Hudson and his colleagues place Talisi at the Kymulga-phase sites east of the Coosa River in present-day Talladega County, Alabama. Recent investigations, however, conclude that Talisi is most likely represented by the large cluster of Shine II sites on the lower Tallapoosa River; see DePratter, Hudson, and Smith, "Hernando de Soto Expedition: From Chiaha to Mabila," 120; Waselkov, Derry, and Jenkins, "Archaeology of Mabila's Cultural Landscape," 229–39; and Jenkins, "Tracing the Origins of the Early Creeks," 220. On the province of Talisi, see Jenkins, "Tracing the Origins of the Early Creeks," 198–208, 220–21.
  - 24 Regnier, "Examination of the Social Composition," 67–71; Jenkins, "Tracing the Origins of the Early Creeks," 190–91, 198–208, 220–21; Knight, *Tukabatchee*, 10, 173.
  - 25 Jenkins, "Tracing the Origins of the Early Creeks," 227–28; Waselkov and Smith, "Upper Creek Archaeology," 250–52; Knight, "Formation of the Creeks," 383; Knight, *Tukabatchee*; Wesson, "Prestige Goods," 118–20.
  - 26 Jenkins, "Tracing the Origins of the Early Creeks," 227–28; Waselkov and Smith, "Upper Creek Archaeology," 250–52; Knight, "Formation of the Creeks," 383. Knight, in *Tukabatchee*, 9–12, gives slightly different dates for the phases; he dates the Shine II phase at 1400–1550 C.E. and the Atasi phase at 1600–1715 C.E. Knight understands the fifty-year gap between the two to be due to a lack of data and not discontinuity. For a detailed listing of Creek ceramic phases, see Knight, "Ocmulgee Fields Culture," 186–89.
  - 27 Blitz and Lorenz, "Early Mississippian Frontier"; Blitz and Lorenz, *Chattahoochee Chiefdoms*, 80–87, 109, 114, 129–35; Knight, "Formation of the Creeks," 381; Jenkins, "Tracing the Origins of the Early Creeks," 208–10.
  - 28 Worth, "Lower Creeks," 267–68; Braley, "Yuchi Town," 10; Blitz and Lorenz, *Chattahoochee Chiefdoms*, 70; Jenkins, "Tracing the Origins of the Early Creeks," 209–10; Knight, "Formation of the Creeks," 381. On the Chattahoochee, the Lamar ceramics form the Singer phase (1400–1450 C.E.), and Chattahoochee ceramics resembling Fort Walton-phase ceramics (1350–1750 C.E.) from northwestern Florida indicate some movement from there. Rood III is also known as the Singer-Moye phase.
  - 29 Knight, "Formation of the Creeks," 380–81.
  - 30 Jenkins, "Tracing the Origins of the Early Creeks," 214–15, 221, 233–34. Hahn, in *Invention of the Creek Nation*, 26–28, suggests that the Mississippian town of Casiste migrated to the Chattahoochee to become Cussita and Coweta. Knight, in "Formation of the Creeks," 185, argues that the Abercrombie phase developed *in situ* as local Stewart-phase people borrowed from numerous external influences. However, later work in the Chattahoochee shows that the Abercrombie phase most likely resulted from immigration into the valley; see Braley, "Yuchi Town," 9–11; and Worth, "Lower Creeks," 268–69.
  - 31 Blitz and Lorenz, *Chattahoochee Chiefdoms*, 70–72; Jenkins, "Tracing the Origins of the Early Creeks," 228–29; Knight, "Formation of the Creeks," 383, 384; Worth, "Lower Creeks," 269, 271–72, 274. There is some discrepancy in the dating of the Chattahoochee River phases. The dates here are from Jenkins, "Tracing the Origins of the Early Creeks," 216, 228. In contrast, Worth, in "Lower Creeks," repeats Knight's dates in "Formation of the Creeks." These are Stewart phase, 1475–1550 C.E.; Abercrombie phase, 1550–1650 C.E.; and Blackmon phase, 1650–1715 C.E. Blitz and Lorenz date them as Stewart phase, 1550–1600 C.E., and Abercrombie phase, 1600–1650 C.E.; Blitz and Lorenz, *Chattahoochee Chiefdoms*, 71–72. Using these later dates, it is tempting to interpret the Big

Eddy migration to the Chattahoochee as resulting from the fall of Tascalusa after the battle of Mabila; however, the discrepancies could be due to calibrated versus uncalibrated carbon 14 dating.

- 32 Jenkins makes this observation in "Tracing the Origins of the Early Creeks," 236.
- 33 Jay K. Johnson, "Aboriginal Settlement"; Jay K. Johnson, "The Nature and Timing"; Jay K. Johnson, "From Chiefdom to Tribe"; Johnson and Sparks, "Protohistoric Settlement Patterns"; Johnson, Galloway, and Belokon, "Historic Chickasaw Settlement Patterns"; Johnson, Scott, Atkinson, and Shea, "Late Prehistoric/Protohistoric Settlement." Jenkins, in "Tracing the Origins of the Early Creeks," 229–31, agrees with Johnson about an early movement out of the Tombigbee, but he believes this to have been a partial movement, and he dates the abandonment of the valley at 1650, the end of the Summerville IV ceramic phase.
- 34 Rafferty, "Prehistoric Settlement Patterning"; Rafferty, "Continuity"; Rafferty, "Woodland Period Settlement Patterning"; Hogue and Peacock, "Environmental and Osteological Analysis"; Peacock, "Test Excavations."

The problem with sorting through this debate is that the ceramics from northeast Mississippi, the proposed location of Chicaza, Alimamu, and Sacchuma, have not been adequately defined. The Sorrels phase (1450–1600 C.E.), which is the ceramic phase that lies at the heart of this problem, obviously spans a crucial 150-year period, and archaeologists have yet to adequately define the phase. Let us briefly review the debate here. The Sorrels phase was first identified by Solis and Walling at the Yarborough site, which is a bottomland, nonmound, Late Mississippian site about eighteen kilometers east of Lyon's Bluff. The ceramics from Yarborough are mostly live-shell tempered, Mississippian plain, with a smattering of other Late Mississippian types (Barton Incised, Parkin Punctuated, Bell Plain, and Moundville Incised). Some other types were also found at Yarborough, in particular Alabama River Appliqué and Carthage Incised. Carbon 14 dates from the Yarborough site date the ceramic collection to the late fifteenth century, before the Soto entrada. A similar collection of ceramics, including the Alabama River Appliqué and Carthage Incised, were also found at the Waide site, which also dates to the late fifteenth century. A small site in Lee County, Mississippi, near Tupelo, with Alabama River Appliqué and Carthage Incised ceramics also dates to the late fifteenth century. In addition, the Alabama River Appliqué and Carthage Incised ceramics appear to have originated in southern Missouri and northern Arkansas in the late fifteenth century, and recent work on the middle Alabama River suggests that they appear there during the Late Mississippian as well. See Solis and Walling, *Archaeological Investigations at the Yarborough Site*; Jay K. Johnson, "Protohistoric to Removal"; Regnier, "A Stylistic Analysis," 127; and Regnier, "Examination of the Social Composition," 145.

Part of the problem here is that Alabama River Appliqué has also been determined to be diagnostic of the Summerville IV phase of the middle Tombigbee Valley and of the late Moundville III and IV phases. The Summerville IV and Moundville IV phases date to 1575–1650 C.E. Ceramic seriations of the northeast Mississippi ceramics also support these later dates and the comparison to the Summerville IV phase. Furthermore, Summerville IV sites are found along the Tombigbee, indicating, if these latter dates are correct, that the Tombigbee was not abandoned until the seventeenth century; see Mann, "Classification of Ceramics from the Lubdub"; Blitz, *Ancient Chiefdoms of the Tombigbee*, 51–52; Morgan, "Historic Period Chickasaw," 7; Rafferty, "A Seriation," 192; and Rafferty, "Prehistoric Settlement Patterning," 185–87, 189–90. The disparate dates

- between the Sorrels phase and the Summerville IV phase have created much confusion, since the two phases are virtually indistinguishable. Johnson suggests that the Alabama River Appliqué–Carthage Incised ceramics diffused slowly from west to east, hence the difference in the dates between those found in present-day Mississippi and those found in Alabama. Others suggest that the Sorrels Phase was misidentified and should be considered Summerville IV, and because the Summerville IV phase ends at approximately 1650 and because of the presence of Summerville IV sites on the Tombigbee, the end of this phase should date the abandonment of the Tombigbee valley. See Jay K. Johnson, “The Chickasaws,” 91 (Figure 4.1); Jay K. Johnson, “Protohistoric to Removal”; Johnson, Scot, Atkinson, and Shea, “Late Prehistoric/Protohistoric”; Jay K. Johnson, “From Chiefdom to Tribe.” On the Waide site dates, see Johnson and Lehman, “Sociopolitical Devolution.” On the ceramics, see Blitz, *Ancient Chiefdoms of the Tombigbee*, 50–52, 56–58; Jenkins, “Tracing the Origins of the Early Creeks,” 229–30; Rafferty, “A Seriation”; and Morgan, “Historic Period Chickasaw.” Johnson’s interpretation for a circa 1450 C.E. move out of the Tombigbee most likely coincides with the general decline in Tombigbee chiefdoms during that time; however, not all of the Tombigbee chiefdoms were abandoned then. See Blitz, *Ancient Chiefdoms of the Tombigbee*.
- 35 On the Chickasaw ceramic sequence and movements, see Atkinson, “Historic Chickasaw Cultural Material”; Rafferty, “A Seriation”; Jay K. Johnson, “Nature and Timing,” 247; and Morgan, “Historic Period Chickasaw.”
  - 36 Atkinson, “Historic Chickasaw Cultural Material”; Jay K. Johnson, “The Nature and Timing”; Jay K. Johnson, “From Chiefdom to Tribe”; Jay K. Johnson, “The Chickasaws”; Johnson, Galloway, and Belokon, “Historic Chickasaw Settlement Patterns”; Morgan, “Historic Period Chickasaw.”
  - 37 Johnson, Yearous, and Ross-Stallings, “Ethnohistory, Archaeology, and Chickasaw Burial Mode,” 441; Johnson and Lehmann, “Sociopolitical Devolution,” 38, 46–48; Jay K. Johnson, “From Chiefdom to Tribe,” 299, 300; Johnson, Scott, Atkinson, and Shea, “Late Prehistoric/Protohistoric Settlement”; Rafferty, “Prehistoric Settlement Patterning,” 175, 177 (Figure 10.3), 187, 190–92; Hogue, “Mississippian and Protohistoric/Early Contact Diet,” 262–63; Hogue, “Burial Practices.” The equating of burial urn mortuary practices with a leveling of social hierarchy may need refining in light of recent work dating the beginning of this practice in central Alabama to the decades prior to the Soto entrada; see Regnier, “Examination of the Social Composition,” 248.
  - 38 Boyd, “The Expedition of Marcos Delgado,” 26.
  - 39 Shuck-Hall, “Alabama and Couthatta Diaspora,” 254–55, 259–60; Peacock and Hogue, “A New Series of Absolute Dates.”
  - 40 Hudson, Smith, and DePratter, “The Hernando de Soto Expedition: From Mabila to the Mississippi,” 196–97; Atkinson, “The De Soto Expedition,” 66–67; Galloway, “Henri de Tonti,” 154–55; Galloway, “Chakchiuma,” 496–98.
  - 41 There has been much work done on the Indians of Spanish Florida. For some overviews, see McEwan, *Spanish Missions of La Florida*; Milanich, “Timucua Indians”; Milanich, *Florida Indians*; Milanich, *Laboring in the Fields of the Lord*; Hann, *Apalachee*; Hann, *History of the Timucua Indians*; Hann, *Native American World*; Hann, *Missions to the Calusa*; Saunders, “Guale Indians”; McEwan, “The Apalachee Indians”; and Worth, *Timucuan Chiefdoms*.
  - 42 Milanich, “Timucua Indians,” 10, 17–22; Worth, *Timucuan Chiefdoms*, 1:35–43, 126–34, 187–97, 2:11–37; McEwan, “Apalachee Indians,” 65–67; Saunders, “Guale Indians,” 40–50; Amy Turner Bushnell, “Ruling the ‘Republic of Indians.’”

- 43 Milanich, "Timucua Indians," 14 (quote); Worth, "Bridging Prehistory and History."
- 44 Amy Turner Bushnell, "Ruling the 'Republic of Indians'"; Worth, "Bridging Prehistory and History"; Worth, "Spanish Missions and the Persistence of Chiefly Power."
- 45 Worth, *Timucuan Chiefdoms*, 2:27–37, 38–65; Worth, "Spanish Missions and the Persistence of Chiefly Power"; Saunders, "The Guale Indians," 47–50; Hann, *Apalachee*, 15–20, 17–20, 184, 320–21. On the health of Spanish mission Indians, see Larsen and others, "Frontiers of Contact," 69–123; Larsen, Ruff, and Griffin, "Implications of Changing Biomechanical and Nutritional Environments"; Milanich, *Florida Indians*, 99–231; Stojanowski, *Biocultural Histories*, 126–52; and Stojanowski, "Bioarchaeology of Identity." Stojanowski, in *Biocultural Histories*, offers an interesting comparison between Apalachee and Guale Indians and notes significant health differences between the two, with the Guale fairs the worst.
- 46 Hann, *Native American World*, 101.
- 47 Scholars are not in agreement over which of these polities was the center of the paramountcy. Williams believes it was Cofaqui, while Hudson, Smith, and DePratter believe it was Ocute (both agree, however, that the Shoulderbone site is the likely remains of the center). See Mark Williams, "Growth and Decline of the Oconee Province," 179; Hudson, Smith, and DePratter, "The Hernando de Soto Expedition: From Apalachee to Chiaha"; and Smith, *Archaeology of Aboriginal Culture Change*, 16 (Table 2.1).
- 48 Mark Williams, "Growth and Decline of the Oconee Province," 184–86; Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 157–72; Hudson, "Social Context of the Chiefdom of Ichisi," 179. Williams, in "Growth and Decline of the Oconee Province," 184–85, suggests that both the Nacoochee sites and a cluster of sites on the headwaters of the Savannah River centered at the Tugalo site may also have come under Ocute's sway.
- 49 At the time of this writing, archaeologists Dennis Blanton and Frankie Snow announced that they had found a site on the Ocmulgee River, near its confluence with the Oconee, that has many Spanish artifacts dating to the mid-sixteenth century. Blanton and Snow propose this may be the site of Ichisi, although this proposal has yet to be fully explored. Blanton and Snow, "Early Sixteenth-Century Spanish Activity." Others have placed the main town of Ichisi at the Lamar site, near present-day Macon; Hudson, Smith, and DePratter, "The Hernando de Soto Expedition: From Apalachee to Chiaha," 70.
- 50 Archaeologist Mark Williams hypothesizes that this rural expansion was a continuation of an expansion that began around 1450 C.E. when the leaders of Ocute began to consolidate many of the Oconee chiefdoms. This consolidation led to establishing peace in a valley that heretofore had been marked by incessant hostility between polities. With more peaceful relations, people now felt free to move out of the towns and establish rural farmsteads. See Mark Williams, "Growth and Decline of the Oconee Province," 191–92.
- 51 Mark Williams, "Growth and Decline of the Oconee Province," 186–92; Kowalewski and Hatch, "Sixteenth-Century Expansion."
- 52 Mark Williams, "Growth and Decline of the Oconee Province," 192; Worth, "Late Spanish Military Expeditions," 108; Smith, *Archaeology of Aboriginal Culture Change*, 80–81.
- 53 Hall, *Zamumo's Gift*, 33–54; Smith, *Archaeology of Aboriginal Culture Change*, 89–112.
- 54 Hann, *Native American World*, 30–42, 81; Waselkov, "Seventeenth-Century Trade," 118; Lankford, "Chacato," 664; Waselkov and Gums, "Plantation Archaeology," 26. The Chine and Pacara also moved closer to Apalachee at this time; see Hann, *Native American World*, 24–28.

- 55 Waselkov, "Seventeenth-Century Trade"; Smith, *Coosa*, 110–11; Hann, *Native American World*, 81, 83; Hall, "Anxious Alliances," 157–62.
- 56 Waselkov, "Seventeenth-Century Trade," 117–18; Smith, *Archaeology of Aboriginal Culture Change*, 47; Hann, *Native American World*, 82–105. A detailed examination of the documentary evidence for seventeenth-century Spanish trade in the South is Hall, *Zamumo's Gift*, 55–74.
- 57 Waselkov, "Seventeenth-Century Trade," 129–30.
- 58 Wessan, *Households and Hegemony*, 58–88; Smith, *Archaeology of Aboriginal Culture Change*, 54–112; Waselkov, "Seventeenth-Century Trade," 129–30; Lapham, *Hunting for Hides*; Hall, *Zamumo's Gift*, 33–74.
- 59 Wesson, *Households and Hegemony*, 58–88, 127–34.
- 60 Waselkov and Dumas, "Archaeological Clues to a Seventeenth-Century Pan-South-eastern Revitalization Movement"; Keyes, "Myth and Social History."
- 61 Waselkov, "Seventeenth-Century Trade"; Smith, "Aboriginal Movements in the Post-contact Southeast," 5. Hall, in *Zamumo's Gift*, 55–74, also makes this point. This is in contrast to Shuck-Hall, who argues in "Alabama and Coushatta Diaspora," 256–60, that these movements took place because of Chickasaw raiding in the late seventeenth century.
- 62 Smith, *Coosa*, 106, 110–12.
- 63 Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 27, 90–91, 104, 106, 131; Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 203.
- 64 Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 203; Goddard, Galloway, Jeter, Waselkov, and Worth, "Small Tribes," 176–77; Hahn, "The Mother of Necessity," 93–94; Hann, "Florida's Terra Incognita," 75–79; Hann, *Native American World*, 52–68. Some scholars have identified the Chiscas with the Yuchis; however, I follow Goddard, Galloway, Jeter, Waselkov, and Worth, who, in "Small Tribes," 171, understand the two groups to be separate entities.
- 65 Wenhold, *Seventeenth-Century Letter*, 10; Hann, *Native American World*, 45; Waselkov and Gums, "Plantation Archaeology," 31–32.
- 66 Waselkov, "Seventeenth-Century Trade."
- 67 *Ibid.*, 118.
- 68 Abraham Wood, "Letter of Abraham Wood to John Richards," 213, 214, 218–20.
- 69 Briceland, *Westward from Virginia*, 157; Waselkov, "Seventeenth-Century Trade," 118.
- 70 Johnson and Lehman, "Sociopolitical Devolution," 50; Peacock and Hogue, "A Series of Absolute Dates," 53.
- 71 See especially Alchon, *Pest in the Land*; Jones, *Rationalizing Epidemics*; Jones, "Virgin Soils Revisited"; and Kelton, *Epidemics and Enslavement*. Alchon, in the appendix to *A Pest in the Land*, 147–77, has a superb summary of the debates over this issue.
- 72 A comprehensive look at health in Spanish Florida is provided in the essays in Larsen, *Bioarchaeology of Spanish Florida*. Also see Ewen, "Continuity and Change"; Hutchinson, *Tatham Mound*; Hutchinson and Mitchem, "Correlates of Contact"; Larsen and others, "Frontiers of Contact"; Milanich, *Florida Indians*, 99–231; Saunders, "Gule Indians"; Saunders, "Seasonality, Sedentism, Subsistence, and Disease"; Stojanowski, "Population History"; and Stojanowski, *Biocultural Histories*.
- 73 For a summary of this data, see Betts, "Pots and Pox," 250–52.
- 74 Johnson and Lehman, "Sociopolitical Devolution," 51.
- 75 Nairne, *Nairne's Muskhogean Journals*, 63.

- 1 First set forth in Ethridge, "Creating the Shatter Zone," 207–18. For a fuller treatment, see Ethridge, "Introduction: Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone."
- 2 Placing the Atlantic world as a subset of a larger global economy follows Coclanis, "Atlantic World or Atlantic/World?" However, Coclanis prefers a neo-Marxist approach rather than a Wallerstenian world-systems approach. See also Galloway, "Charles Town."
- 3 Galloway, "Beachheads into Empires." Alan Galloway, especially, has begun developing a framework for thinking about these commercial outposts. He calls them "hot spots"—"locales that had extraordinary impact economically, culturally, and diplomatically on large regions which they also linked to the greater world"; see Galloway, "Charles Town."
- 4 For a discussion of the global experiences of these European immigrants, see Games, "Beyond the Atlantic." Carson, in *Making an Atlantic World*, 61–64, makes the point that these early European colonists understood the value of adopting and using indigenous practices in their colonial projects. For a detailed treatment of a southern American colony as a trade factory, see Kupperman, *The Jamestown Project*.
- 5 Galloway, "Beachheads into Empires."
- 6 For an examination of the changing concept of slavery and captives among Southern Indians, see Snyder, *Slavery in Indian Country*.
- 7 Dye, "Warfare in the Protohistoric Southeast," 137–38. Martin, in "Southeastern Indians and the English Trade," 308–10, was one of the first to note that the commercial slave trade involved a new kind of slaving.
- 8 Perdue, *Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society*, 3–18; Snyder, "Conquered Enemies"; Snyder, *Slavery in Indian Country*; Rushforth, "A Little Flesh We Offer You"; Rushforth, "Slavery, the Fox Wars, and the Limits of Alliance"; Barr, "From Captives to Slaves."
- 9 Alchon, *Pest in the Land*, 138–39; Usner, "American Indians in Colonial New Orleans"; Lauber, *Indian Slavery*, 55–57, 82–86, 242–49; Galloway, *The Indian Slave Trade*, 288–314; Ramsey, "All and Singular the Slaves," 168. For an account of Indian slaves in South Carolina, see Ramsey, *The Yamasee War*, 34–53. There are numerous references in the colonial documents to the kinds of labor for which Carolinians and Louisiana French used Indian slaves. These are quite variable, including labor in agriculture, business ventures, domestic uses, and manufacturing. See McDowell, *Journals of the Commissioners*; and Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, vols. 1, 2, and 3. Other primary sources regarding the fate of Indian slaves are Nairne, *Nairne's Muskhogean Journals*, 43; Le Page du Pratz, *History of Louisiana*, 319; Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 171–75; and Tonti, "Extract," 159, 166–73.
- 10 On this debate, see Heather, "Weapons of War"; and Chet, *Conquering the American Wilderness*. For the South, see Hahn, "A Miniature Arms Race"; and Hahn, "Mother of Necessity." For discussions on the effectiveness of these weapons in Indian warfare, see Bowne, *The Westo Indians*, 65–71; Snyder, *Slavery in Indian Country*, 53–54; and Malone, *The Skulking Way of War*.
- 11 See Ferguson, *Yanomami Warfare*, 21–37.
- 12 Ferguson and Whitehead make this point in "Violent Edge of Empire," 23.
- 13 Ethridge, "Creating the Shatter Zone," 208–9. Ferguson and Whitehead, "Violent Edge of Empire," 18–28, also understand militarization to be a result of the interface between expanding states and indigenous peoples.
- 14 Abler, "Beavers and Muskets"; Richter, *Ordeal of the Longhouse*; Starna and Watkins, "Northern Iroquoian Slavery"; Fox, "Events as Seen from the North." The Dutch aban-

- doned their North American project in the mid-seventeenth century, but they were clearly involved in the fur and slave trade up until that time.
- 15 Starna and Watkins, "Northern Iroquoian Slavery," 41–46, 52–53; Richter, *Ordeal of the Longhouse*, 32–49.
  - 16 Abler, "Beavers and Muskets," 158–60; Richter, *Ordeal of the Longhouse*, 56–58.
  - 17 Fox, "Events as Seen from the North," 65–66.
  - 18 Richter, *Ordeal of the Longhouse*, 51–62.
  - 19 White, *The Middle Ground*, 11–13; Richter, *Ordeal of the Longhouse*, 60–66.
  - 20 Richter, *Ordeal of the Longhouse*, 53, 144; Wolf, *Europe and the People without History*, 163–94; White, *The Middle Ground*, 1–49. For a discussion of the consequences for the groups around the Iroquois, see Fox, "Events as Seen from the North."
  - 21 Drooker, "The Ohio Valley," 118–24; Pollack, *Caborn-Welborn*, 188–90.
  - 22 Drooker, "The Ohio Valley," 233; Smith, "Aboriginal Population Movements in the Postcontact Southeast."
  - 23 Warren and Noe, in "The Greatest Travelers in America," makes this argument. For a discussion of the Shawnees and slaving, also see Drooker, "The Ohio Valley," 124–28.
  - 24 Rountree, "Trouble Coming Southward," 72.
  - 25 Rountree, in "Trouble Coming Southward," 66–69, also notes that these movements and disruptions in Virginia were generated by Iroquois slaving; see also Fox, "Events as Seen from the North"; and Meyers, "From Refugees to Slave Traders."
  - 26 Turner, "Socio-Political Organization," 208–17; Rountree, *The Powhatan Indians*, 141; Gallivan, "Powhatan's Werowococomo," 97; Rice, *Nature and History*, 56, 81–86; Scarry and Maxham, "Elite Actors," 153–63.
  - 27 Rice, *Nature and History*, 92–107, 174–88; Merrell, *Indians' New World*, 36; Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 3–18; Shefveld, "Wholly Subjected?" The Indian slave trade in Virginia is only now receiving sustained scholarly investigation. See Everett, "They Shalbe Slaves for Their Lives"; Meyers, "From Refugees to Slave Traders"; Shefveld, "Hidden in Plain View"; Shefveld, "Wholly Subjected?"; and Rountree, "Trouble Coming Southward."
  - 28 Everett, "They Shalbe Slaves for Their Lives"; Rountree, "Trouble Coming Southward," 68–72.
  - 29 Richter, *Ordeal of the Longhouse*, 98.
  - 30 Ward and Davis, *Time before History*, 112–16.
  - 31 Bland, "Discovery of New Brittain," 16; Davis, "Cultural Landscape," 150–51; Ward and Davis, *Time before History*, 258.
  - 32 Merrell, *Indians' New World*, 41; Ward and Davis, *Indian Communities*, 427–30; Davis, "Cultural Landscape," 139. See also Davis, Livingood, Ward, and Steponaitis, "Excavating Occaneechi Town."
  - 33 Woodward, "A Faithful Relation"; Rivers, *A Sketch of the History*, 388–89. For the history of the Westos, see Bowne, "Caryinge away their Corne and Children"; Bowne, *The Westo Indians*; and Myers, "From Refugees to Slave Trades." The Westos also figure in many of the essays in Ethridge and Shuck-Hall, *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone*.
  - 34 Bowne, *The Westo Indians*, 72–88; Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade*, 53–69.
  - 35 Richter, *Ordeal of the Longhouse*, 145; Merrell, *Indians' New World*, 41–42.
  - 36 Worth, *Struggle for the Georgia Coast*, 9, 36, 40, 45.
  - 37 Worth, *Timucuan Chiefdoms*, 2:16–21; Hann, *Native American World*, 53–56, 60–61.
  - 38 Worth, *Struggle for the Georgia Coast*, 12–15.



- 39 Ibid., 15–42; Green, DePratter, and Southerlin, “The Yamasee,” 16.
- 40 Smith, *Aboriginal Culture Change*, 77–81; Smith, “Aboriginal Population Movements in the Postcontact Southeast,” 10–12; Mark Williams, “Growth and Decline of the Oconee Province,” 191–93; Briceland, *Westward from Virginia*, 157; Waselkov, “Seventeenth-Century Trade,” 118.
- 41 Green, DePratter, and Southerlin, “The Yamasee,” 15–19; Bowne, “Caryinge away their Corne and Children,” 107; Ramsey, *The Yamasee War*, 107–9.
- 42 Worth, “Yamasee,” 245–53; Worth, *Struggle for the Georgia Coast*, 18–20, 36–38.
- 43 Davis, “Cultural Landscape,” 137–38, 146–48; Ward and Davis, *Time before History*, 99, 105–8, 117–19, 134–37; Ward and Davis, “Tribes and Traders,” 127–37. There is some discrepancy over assigning a historically known Indian group to the Caraway phase. Davis, “Cultural Landscape,” 148 (Figure 4), assigns it to the Keyauwees. Beck, “Catawba Coalescence,” 128, assigns it to the Guataris. Both groups were on the Yadkin River in historic times.
- 44 Ward and Davis, *Time before History*, 224–26. Because Mississippian political orders did not extend into the Northeast, archaeologists understand the Woodland Period to have lasted there until contact. In most of the South, the Woodland terminates with the emergence of Cahokia, which heralds the beginning of the Mississippi Period. Because the Cashie-phase people more resemble their northern Algonquian neighbors than their Mississippian ones, archaeologists assume the Woodland Period continued here as well.
- 45 Davis, “Cultural Landscape,” 146–51; Ward and Davis, *Time before History*, 242–47; Ward and Davis, “Tribes and Traders,” 127–37.
- 46 Quoted in Merrell, *Indians’ New World*, 41.
- 47 Davis, “Cultural Landscape,” 146–51; Ward and Davis, *Time before History*, 242–47; Ward and Davis, “Tribes and Traders,” 127–37.
- 48 Davis, “Cultural Landscape,” 146–51; Ward and Davis, “Tribes and Traders,” 139; Heath, “Woodland Period Mortuary Variability”; Lapham, *Hunting for Hides*.
- 49 DePratter, “The Chiefdom of Cofitachequi”; Beck, “Catawba Coalescence,” 115–16.
- 50 Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 68–73; Moore, *Catawba Valley Mississippian*, 132–51, 181; Beck, “Catawba Coalescence,” 118–20; Fitts and Heath, “Indians Refusing,” 147–48, 153–54.
- 51 Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 33 (Figure 6), 29–46; Beck, “Catawba Coalescence,” 121–30.
- 52 Beck, “Catawba Coalescence,” 130–37.
- 53 Lederer, *Discoveries*, 18–19; Beck, “Catawba Coalescence,” 131–34; Davis, “Cultural Landscape,” 148–50 (Figure 4 on 148, Figure 5 on 149, and Figure 6 on 150).
- 54 Moore, *Catawba Valley Mississippian*, 194. Davis, in “Cultural Landscape,” 148–51, places Sara on the upper Dan River; Hudson, in *Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 184–85, links the Sara Indians with the Chara Orata briefly noted in the Pardo accounts. For a brief discussion on the question of the Sara, see Beck, “Catawba Coalescence,” 140–41 (n. 51).
- 55 David G. Moore, *Catawba Valley Mississippian*, 194; Lederer, *Discoveries*, 20–21; Beck, “Catawba Coalescence,” 131–37; Fitts and Heath, “Indians Refusing,” 144–46, 155–56; Davis, “Cultural Landscape,” 148–51; Galloway, *The Indian Slave Trade*, 51–52. See also Hudson, Beck, DePratter, Ethridge, and Worth, “On Interpreting Cofitachequi.”
- 56 Beck, “Catawba Coalescence,” 131–38; Bowne, *The Westo Indians*, 85–86. Merrell, in *Indians’ New World*, 47, mistakenly equates Usheree with Esaw with the suffix of “ri,”

- although he admits that the early colonial records are unclear in regard to Indian names and town names; Merrell also published his work before the Pardo documents came to light, which shows that Usheree and Yssa were two different towns.
- 57 Cheves, *Shafsbury Papers*, 186–87, 194, 201, 223, 249, 256; “Entry for March 7, 1681,” in Salley, *Records in the British Public Records Office*, 1:115–18; Galloway, *The Indian Slave Trade*, 46–48; Galloway, “South Carolina’s Entrance into the Indian Slave Trade,” 120–25; Merrell, *Indians’ New World*, 40, 47; Bowne, “‘Caryinge away their Corne and Children,’” 108–9; Beck, “Catawba Coalescence,” 136.
  - 58 Waddell, “Cusabo,” 254–55; Rudes, Blumer, and May, “Catawba,” 302 (Figure 1); Swanton, *Indians of the Southeastern United States*, Map 11.
  - 59 Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 32–35.
  - 60 Hudson, Beck, DePratter, Ethridge, and Worth, “On Interpreting Cofitachequi,” 477–80; Bowne, *Westo Indians*, 94–95; Waddell, “Cofitachequi,” 348; Galloway, *Indian Slave Trade*, 48–49. Galloway, in *Indian Slave Trade*, 51–52, does not see Mathews’s and the other Carolina campaigns against the low country Indians as slaving expeditions because, as he argues, in the first few years of settlement, the Lords Proprietors were more interested in securing the colony than engaging in the Indian slave trade.
  - 61 Salley, *Records in the British Public Records Office*, 2:20; Galloway, *Indian Slave Trade*, 51–52, 60–69.
  - 62 Bowne, *Westo Indians*, 96; Galloway, *Indian Slave Trade*, 52.
  - 63 Schroedl, “Cherokee Ethnohistory,” 210, 212–13; Rodning, “Reconstructing the Coalescence of Cherokee Communities,” 160–65.
  - 64 Ibid., 208, 212–13; Rodning, “Reconstructing the Coalescence of Cherokee Communities,” 160–65; Perdue, *Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society*, 26.
  - 65 Bandera, “‘Long’ Bandera Relation,” 223–24, 270–71; Perdue, *Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society*, 26, 23–35; Galloway, *The Indian Slave Trade*, 319–22; Riggs, “Reconsidering Chestowee”; Worth, “On the Yuchi of the Contact Era.”
  - 66 Riggs, “Reconsidering Chestowee”; Worth, “On the Yuchi of the Contact Era”; Jackson, “Yuchi,” 426.
  - 67 Knight, “Formation of the Creeks,” 384; Waselkov, “Seventeenth-Century Trade,” 120–28; Waselkov, personal communication, 2008.
  - 68 Shuck-Hall, “Alabama-Coushatta Diaspora,” 254–56.
  - 69 Boyd, “The Expedition of Marcos Delgado,” 14, 26; Galloway, *Choctaw Genesis*, 177–79; Smith, *Coosa*, 80. Shuck-Hall, in “Alabama-Coushatta Diaspora,” maps the coalescence of the Alabama-Coushatta.
  - 70 Jenkins, “Tracing the Origins of the Early Creeks,” 235; Shuck-Hall, “Alabama-Coushatta Diaspora,” 254.
  - 71 Shuck-Hall, “Alabama-Coushatta Diaspora,” 260–61.
  - 72 Worth, “Lower Creeks,” 271–72. Worth includes Casiste as one of the Coushatta-speaking migrant towns, which he identifies as one of the towns in the province of Talisi at the time of Soto. As argued earlier and based on Jenkins, “Tracing the Origins of the Early Creeks,” I agree that people from Talisi migrated to Apalachicola; however, these people most likely migrated soon after the Soto entrada and, therefore, were not slaving refugees.
  - 73 Woodward, “A Faithful Relation,” 133.
  - 74 Smith, *Coosa*, 112–16.
  - 75 Cegielski, “A GIS-Based Analysis of Chickasaw Settlement,” 72–85; Cegielski and Lieb, “Hina’Falaa, ‘The Long Path’”; Atkinson, “Historic Chickasaw Cultural Material”;

Atkinson, *Splendid Land*, 11; Jay K. Johnson “Nature and Timing”; Jay K. Johnson, “Stone Tools”; Jay K. Johnson, “The Chickasaws”; Johnson, Galloway, and Belokon, “Historic Chickasaw Settlement Patterns.” Patricia Galloway traces a 1702 trek to the Chickasaws by Tonti and concludes that the Chickasaws in 1702 lived south of present-day Tupelo; see Galloway, “Henri de Tonti,” 151–54; and Galloway, *Choctaw Genesis*, 193–94. Atkinson, in *Splendid People*, 10–11, retraces the same route, only to conclude that they were in the Tupelo vicinity in 1702. Recent archaeological evidence demonstrates that the Chickasaws were in and near present-day Tupelo by at least 1650; see Johnson, O’Hear, Ethridge, Lieb, Scott, Jackson, and Jacobi, “Measuring Chickasaw Adaptations,” 11–13.

#### CHAPTER 5

- 1 Scholars typically divide the Mississippi River valley into “upper,” “central,” and “lower” sections. The central Mississippi Valley lies between Thebes, Illinois, to the north and the Arkansas River to the south. The lower Mississippi valley begins at the Arkansas River and continues to the mouth of the Mississippi.
- 2 Vehik, “Problems and Potential”; Vehik, “Cultural Continuity and Discontinuity,” 259; Betts, “Pots and Pox”; Milner, “Epidemic Disease”; Smith, *Archaeology of Aboriginal Culture Change*, 129–47; Smith, *Coosa*, 112–21; Smith, “Aboriginal Population Movements in the Postcontact Southeast”; Perttula, “*Caddo Nation*,” 148–82; Perttula, “Social Changes”; Ramenofsky, *Vectors of Death*, 174–76; Ramenofsky and Galloway, “Disease and the Soto Entrada”; Stojanowski, “Population History”; Galloway, *Choctaw Genesis*, 134–41, 159–63; Snow and Lamphear, “European Contact and Indian Depopulation”; Worth, *Timucuan Chiefdoms*, 21–37; Alchon, *Pest in the Land*; Baker and Keallhofer, *Bioarchaeology of Native American Adaptations*; Hutchinson, *Tatham Mounds*. Paul Kelton, in *Epidemics and Enslavement*, 88–94, most recently made the argument that Old World diseases had not entered the Mississippi Valley until the late seventeenth century. It should be noted, however, that Kelton does not examine the possibility of disease moving into the region from New Spain through the southern Plains or down the river from French Canada.
- 3 I take the language of “shock waves” and inspiration for this chapter from Jeter, “Shatter Zone Shock Waves along the Lower Mississippi.”
- 4 Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 281; Rangel, “Account,” 299–300; Elvas, “Account by a Gentleman,” 111; Biedma, “Relation,” 238.
- 5 Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 284–86; Rangel, “Account,” 299–300; Elvas, “Account by a Gentleman,” 111–12; Biedma, “Relation,” 238.
- 6 Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 286.
- 7 Ibid., 290–91; Rangel, “Account,” 300–301; Elvas, “Account by a Gentleman,” 114–15; Biedma, “Relation,” 239. The Parkin site is now a state archaeological park; visit their website at (<http://www.arkansasstateparks.com/parkinarcheological/>). See also Mitchem, “Investigations of the Possible Remains of de Soto’s Cross at Parkin”; Mitchem, “Mississippian Research at Parkin”; and Phyllis A. Morse, “Parkin Archeological Site.” Recent research suggests an alternate location for Casqui and Pacaha; see Childs and McNutt, “Hernando De Soto’s Route from Chicaça through Northeast Arkansas.”
- 8 Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 288, 289; Rangel, “Account,” 304; Elvas, “Account by a Gentleman,” 122–23; Biedma, “Relation,” 241.
- 9 Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 293–95; Rangel, “Account,” 300–303; Elvas, “Account by a

- Gentleman," 116–21; Biedma, "Relation," 239–41. On the dynamic and often hostile relations between the central Mississippi valley chiefdoms, see Rees, "Coercion, Tribute, and Chieftly Authority"; and Rees, "Subsistence Economy."
- 10 Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 293, 295, 309; Stephen Williams, "The Vacant Quarter"; Cobb and Butler, "The Vacant Quarter Revisited"; Mainfort, "Late Prehistoric," 188.
  - 11 Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 313–16; Rangel, "Account," 304; Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 122–23; Biedma, "Relation," 241.
  - 12 Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 311–20; Rangel, "Account," 304–5; Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 124–36; Biedma, "Relation," 241–45.
  - 13 Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 332; Rangel, "Account," 304–5; Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 124–36; Biedma, "Relation," 241–45.
  - 14 Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 337–38; Rangel, "Account," 304–5; Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 131–36; Biedma, "Relation," 243.
  - 15 Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 339–42; Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 131–36; Biedma, "Relation," 243.
  - 16 Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 363–73; Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 139–48; Biedma, "Relation," 243–45; DuVal, "A Good Relationship," 63–64.
  - 17 Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 373, 381; Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 148–49, 206; Biedma, "Relation," 243.
  - 18 Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 387–89.
  - 19 Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 387–89; Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 140; Biedma, "Relation," 245–46.
  - 20 Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 391; Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 151–56; Biedma, "Relation," 245–46.
  - 21 Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 394–95; Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 156–58; Biedma, "Relation," 245–46.
  - 22 Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 395–97; Elvas, "Account by a Gentleman," 158–59; Biedma, "Relation," 245–46.
  - 23 Ian Brown places the central town of Quigualtam at the Glass site, about ten kilometers south of present-day Vicksburg; Ian W. Brown, "An Archaeological Study," 177. However, Jeffrey Brain places the central town of Quigualtam further downriver at the Emerald site, just north of present-day Natchez, Mississippi; Brain, "Late Prehistoric Settlement," 357. For a good summary of the archaeological mystery of Quigualtam and the candidate sites, see Barnett, *The Natchez Indians*, 12–14. Nonetheless, most agree that the historic Natchez were the descendants of Quigualtam or of one of the polity's subordinate chiefdoms.
  - 24 The rock art that Joliet and Marquette saw was a well-known landmark for travelers on the Mississippi River until the early 1850s, when it was destroyed to make a rock quarry. It was drawn on the Mississippi bluffs near present-day Alton, Illinois. The image depicted an underwater panther, or piasa. For more on Illinois rock art, see Wagner, "Visions of Other Worlds."
  - 25 Marquette, "Mississippi Voyage," 250–52 (quote on 252).
  - 26 Marquette, "The Marquette Autograph Map"; Brain, Roth, and de Reuse, "Tunica, Biloxi, and Ofo," 596; Galloway, *Choctaw Genesis*, 165. Delanglez, in "Marquette's Autograph Map," 50–51, was the first to connect the Mosopeleas on Marquette's map to this encounter; however, he asserts that this encounter took place on the return leg of the journey. Delanglez also places them further south, near present-day Memphis. Swanton

- first made the connection between the Mosopeleas and the Ofos; see Swanton, "New Light"; and Swanton, *Indians of the Southeastern United States*, 165–66. Linguist Robert Rankin found evidence to corroborate Swanton; see Rankin, "Linguistic Evidence for the Earlier Location of the Ofo." Snyder, in *Slavery in Indian Country*, 46–47, identifies this group as Chickasaws, although she does not indicate why she does so.
- 27 There is some ambiguity in the Marquette map in that the name "Mitchigamea" is written below a town symbol located inland, not on the Mississippi River, and there is another town symbol just below the inscription and on the west bank of the river. Delanglez proposes, and archaeologist Dan Morse agrees, that the expedition never encountered the Mitchigamea town and that the actual author of the Marquette relation, Father Dablon, conflated this encounter with other events about which his interviewees told him. They conclude that the inland symbol represents an inland Mitchigamea town and that the riverside symbol represents Cappa, the first town of the Quapaw (Akansa on the map). See Marquette, "The Marquette Autograph Map"; Delanglez, "Marquette's Autograph Map," 45–48; and Dan F. Morse, "Seventeenth-Century Mitchigamea Village," 58–59. I, however, am following Kellogg, who does not question the encounter and places the Mitchigamea river town near the St. Francis River; see Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, 252–53 n. 3. On the Quapaw towns, see Sabo, "The Quapaw Indians," 181 (Figure 7.1). For further discussion of the inland Mitchigamea town, see note 47 below.
  - 28 Marquette, "Mississippi Voyage," 253. Linguist John E. Koontz analyzed the only two recorded sentences of Mitchigamea, and he proposes that it was not an Illinois language but likely a Siouan language, perhaps Dhegiha; Koontz, "The Mitchigamea Language," (<http://spot.colorado.edu/~koontz/michigamea.htm>) (accessed March 13, 2009). This assessment also squares with the fact that Marquette did not know the Quapaw language, which was also a Dhegiha Siouan language.
  - 29 La Salle, "Nicolas de la Salle Journal," 100; Tonti, "Relation," 73; Tonti, "Mémorial," 60; Minet, "Voyage Made from Canada," 45; La Métairie, "Official Report," 133.
  - 30 Tonti, "Relation," 67; Tonti, "Mémorial," 60; Tonti, "Letter," 216; La Salle, "Nicolas de la Salle Journal," 98–99; La Métairie, "Official Report," 132; Minet, "Voyage Made from Canada," 45.
  - 31 Minet, "Voyage Made from Canada," 45; La Salle, "Nicolas de la Salle Journal," 98–99; La Métairie, "Official Report," 132.
  - 32 La Salle, "Nicolas de la Salle Journal," 98, 99–100; La Métairie, "Official Report," 132; Tonti, "Mémorial," 60; Tonti, "Relation," 67–71; DuVal, "A Good Relationship," 61. The 7,000 population figure comes from Peter Wood, who, after sifting through the small bits of evidence and calculating with a ratio of 3.5:1, estimates that the Chickasaw population was about 7,000 at this time, although he admits that some estimates could put it as high as 14,000 in 1685; see Peter H. Wood, "Changing Population," 68.
  - 33 Minet, "Voyage Made from Canada," 45; La Salle, "Nicolas de la Salle Journal," 100 (quote); Tonti, "Relation," 69–71.
  - 34 Marquette, "Mississippi Voyages," 254–56.
  - 35 Ibid., 254–55; Joliet, "Letter."
  - 36 Marquette, "Mississippi Voyages," 254–55; Sabo, "The Quapaw Indians," 180.
  - 37 The reported number of leagues that the party traveled from Fort Prudhomme before reaching the first Quapaw town varies. Nicolas de la Salle put it at thirty-six leagues, and Tonti put it at fifty; see Tonti, "Relations," 71; Tonti, "Mémorial," 60–61; La Salle, "The

- Nicolas de la Salle Journal,” 99–101. For relations between the French and Quapaw, see Sabo, “The Quapaw Indians,” 187–89; DuVal, “A Good Relationship”; DuVal, *The Native Ground*.
- 38 Tonti “Memoir,” 71; Tonti, “Relation,” 74; La Salle, “The Nicolas de la Salle Journal,” 102. Also, Foster, in “Introduction,” 45–46, notes that in 1687, when Henri Joutel’s group made their overland trek from Texas to Cappa after the assassination of La Salle, they followed part of a trade route connecting Mexico to the Mississippi River.
  - 39 For a good summary of this debate, see Sabo, “The Quapaw Indians,” 185–87; and Jeter, “From Prehistory through Protohistory,” 213–19.
  - 40 Gravier, “Journal of the Voyage,” 115 (quote); House, “Wallace Bottom,” 259–61, 265; Sabo, “The Quapaw Indians,” 185–86; Michael P. Hoffman, “The Terminal Mississippian”; Jeter, “Shatter Zone Shock Waves,” 373–76; DuVal, “A Good Relationship,” 67–68. I should note that not all agree with the Dhegihan migration out of the Ohio River valley. Koontz, personal communication, 2009, proposes that the Dhegihans were originally located in the Wisconsin–northeastern Illinois area and migrated out of this area sometime in the seventeenth century.
  - 41 See especially White, *The Middle Ground*; Richter, *Ordeal of the Longhouse*; and Tanner, *Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History*, 29–35. For the most recent thoughts on Indian movements in the North and Midwest, see Parmenter, “Geographies of Solidarity”; and Witgen, “Narratives of Discovery.”
  - 42 Mazrim and Esarey, “Rethinking the Dawn of History,” 151–57 (quote on 156), 184–87; Galloway, *Choctaw Genesis*, 165; Esarey, “Colonialism before Contact.”
  - 43 Ian W. Brown, “Calumet Ceremony,” 313–14. See also Lankford, *Looking for Lost Lore*, 98–126.
  - 44 Brown, “Calumet Ceremony,” 315–16.
  - 45 Ibid., 327–28.
  - 46 La Salle, “The Journal of Nicolas de la Salle,” 102; Tonti, “Memoir,” 60–61; Tonti, “Relation,” 73; Tonti, “Letter,” 218; Marquette, “Mississippi Voyage,” 254–55. It should be noted that the presence of Illinois war captives in the Quapaw towns does not necessarily indicate hostile relations; war captives were oftentimes exchanged as diplomatic tokens.
  - 47 Marquette, “Mississippi Voyage,” 255; Dan F. Morse, “Seventeenth-Century Mitchigamea Village,” 61, 63, 65, 70–71. Morse places the inland Mitchigamea town at the Grigsby site, on the Black River near present-day Pocahontas, Arkansas; see Morse, “Seventeenth-Century Mitchigamea Village.” However, Morse believes this is the town that Joliet and Marquette visited. I argue that Joliet and Marquette encountered a second Mitchigamea town on the Mississippi that may have been affiliated with this inland town. This agrees with Jeter, “Review,” 355; and Jeter, “From Prehistory through Protohistory,” 191–92. See also note 27 above.
  - 48 Marquette, “The Marquette Autograph Map”; Joliet, “Nouvelle Decouverte”; Jeter, “From Prehistory through Protohistory,” 193, 202.
  - 49 Rankin, “Language Affiliations,” 216–17.
  - 50 Marquette, “Mississippi Voyage,” 255; Tonti, “Relation,” 74; La Salle, “The Nicolas de la Salle Journal,” 103.
  - 51 For a thorough discussion on the scholarly debates, see Jeter, “From Prehistory through Protohistory”; and Jeter, “Shatter Zone Shock Waves.”
  - 52 Brain, Roth, and de Reuse, “Tunica, Biloxi, and Ofo,” 586; Jeter, “From Prehistory

- through Protohistory," 189–90, 206–13. Brain, in "Tunica Archaeology," 21–25, proposes that the Tunicas may have been the descendants of the former Quizquiz and hence had Mississippian origins on the Mississippi.
- 53 Joutel, *The La Salle Expedition*, 258, 261; Early, *Caddoan Saltmakers*, 204–6; Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 316–19. The question here is whether or not the Tanico saltmakers moved from the Arkansas to the Ouichita after the Soto expedition. For a detailed discussion of the various interpretations of the Tunica- and Natchez-speaking groups in the lower Mississippi Valley, see Jeter, "From Prehistory through Protohistory."
  - 54 La Salle, "The Nicolas de la Salle Journal," 105; Tonti, "Relation," 73–75; Tonti, "Letter," 219.
  - 55 Brain, "Late Prehistoric Settlement Patterning," 344–56; Jeter, "From Prehistory through Protohistory," 184–88; Brown, "Plaquemine Culture," 152–59. On the Glass site, see Ian W. Brown, "An Archaeological Study," 179. For a detailed study of Plaquemine archaeology, see Rees and Livingood, *Plaquemine Archaeology*. Plaquemine is typically described as being distinct from the Mississippian cultural tradition. I subsume Plaquemine with the "Mississippian world" because, despite cultural differences, the people of this region interacted with people across cultural boundaries. My convention, however, should not be misunderstood as a challenge to differentiating Plaquemine as a particular cultural tradition as defined by archaeologists.
  - 56 Brain, "Late Prehistoric Settlement," 359–60; Gravier, "Journal of the Voyage," 136.
  - 57 Franquelin, "Carte de l'Amerique Septentrionale"; Franquelin, "Amerique Septentrionale: depuis le 25, jusqu'au 65° deg"; Franquelin, "Amerique Septentrionale: depuis le 25 jusqu'au 15 deg"; La Métairie, "Official Report," 133; Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 72–73; Pénicaut, *Fleur de Lys*, 33; Tonti, "Tonty's Account of the Route," 82–83; Stephen Williams, "The Vacant Quarter," 196; Ian W. Brown, "Historic Indians," 227; Brain, Roth, and de Reuse, "Tunica, Biloxi, and Ofo," 586, 594–95; Goddard, Galloway, Jeter, Waselkov, and Worth, "Small Tribes," 179–80, 186, 188; Galloway, "Chakchiuma," 496, 497.
  - 58 Usner, *American Indians*, 49.
  - 59 Brain, "Late Prehistoric Settlement," 360–61.
  - 60 La Salle, "The Nicolas de la Salle Journal," 106; Minet, "Voyage Made from Canada," 49; Tonti, "Relation," 77; Swanton, *Indians of the Southeastern United States*, 188; Galloway and Jackson, "Natchez," 600; Stephen Williams, "On the Location of the Historic Taensa"; Usner, *American Indians*, 48.
  - 61 La Salle, "The Nicolas de la Salle Journal," 106–7, 121–22; Tonti, "Relation," 77–83, 73 (quotes), 77, 86; Tonti, "Letter," 219–20; Tonti, "Mémorial," 61–62; Minet, "Voyage from Canada," 50–51; Stephen Williams, "On the Location of the Historic Taensa." Tonti also notes that the mico's family was also "served by slaves"; Tonti, "Letter," 219. Father Membré, in "Letter," 211–12, also compares the Taensa political hierarchy to that of France.
  - 62 Tonti, "Relation," 77, 83; Tonti, "Mémorial," 61–62 (quote on 61). Nicolas de la Salle also describes the temple in "The Nicolas de la Salle Journal," 122, as does Minet, in "Voyage Made from Canada," 61. Tonti's reports of retainer burials among the Taensa are later corroborated by de la Source, "Letter," 81; and Montigny, "Letter," 77–78.
  - 63 Tonti, "Mémorial," 62; La Salle, "The Nicolas de la Salle Journal," 109. Father Membré corroborates Tonti's observations on Taensa; see Membré, "Letter," 211.
  - 64 La Salle, "The Nicolas de la Salle Journal," 107 (quote); Tonti, "Relation," 81; Tonti, "Letter," 220; Minet, "Voyage Made from Canada," 50, 51.

- 65 La Salle, "The Nicolas de la Salle Journal," 107; Tonti, "Relation," 87; Tonti, "Letter," 220, 221; Minet, "Voyage Made from Canada," 51. Tonti is inconsistent on some details about the Taensa visit. For instance, in his "Memoir," Tonti claims that the mico of Taensa came to visit La Salle with the canoes of provisions; he also states in his "Memoir" that he acquired the pearls by trading a string of blue glass beads for a string of pearls worn by one of the mico's wives; see Tonti, "Memoir," 62.
- 66 Tonti, "Relation," 85–87; Tonti, "Letter," 221; Tonti, "Memoir," 63; Minet, "Voyage Made from Canada," 51; La Salle, "The Journal of Nicolas de la Salle," 162; La Métairie, "Official Report," 133.
- 67 Tonti, "Relation," 85–87; Tonti, "Letter," 221; Tonti, "Memoir," 63; Minet, "Voyage Made from Canada," 51; La Salle, "The Journal of Nicolas de la Salle," 162; La Métairie, "Official Report," 133. Tonti, in "Memoir," 63, has a confusing passage where he conflates the Koroa and the Natchez. Minet, likewise, in "Voyage Made from Canada," says this was the Koroa nation and that Natchez was a town. Also, La Salle, in "The Journal of Nicolas de la Salle," 108, says that they departed before the Koroa officials arrived. In fact, the inconsistencies of these reports have puzzled scholars for many years. For a good summary of the confusion, see Brain, "La Salle at Natchez"; and Goddard, Galloway, Jeter, Waselkov, and Worth, "Small Tribes," 180–81. Brain concludes that the first Natchez town that La Salle visited was one of the towns in the northern district of the chiefdom and that the Koroa towns were within the nucleus of Natchez proper—near the central Fatherland site—but that La Salle went to a Koroa town and hence never went to the Fatherland site; see Brain, "La Salle at Natchez," 57. Barnett, in *The Natchez Indians*, 26, believes La Salle visited the Fatherland site during his stay at the first Natchez town. Despite the confusion, scholars agree that at the time of La Salle's visit, the Koroa were somehow affiliated with the Natchez. For a good summary of the archaeology and documentary evidence, see Barnett, *The Natchez Indians*, 21–28.
- 68 Tonti, "Relation," 87; Tonti, "Letter," 221–22; La Salle, "The Nicolas de la Salle Journal," 110 (quote); Minet, "Voyage Made from Canada," 52; Membré, "Letter," 212.
- 69 La Métairie, "Official Report," 133, specifies five Koroa towns in the Natchez chiefdom. See also Delanglez, "The Jolliet Lost Map," 108–9, 134–35; Franquelin, "Carte de la Louisiane"; Tonti, "Memoir," 78; Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 73; and La Harpe, "Historical Journal," 24. On the identity and placement of the Koroa, see Kidder, "The Koroa," 6, 17–22; Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 145–46; Hudson, "Reconstructing the De Soto Route West of the Mississippi," 145–46; Jeter, "From Prehistory through Protohistory," 207; and Goddard, Galloway, Jeter, Waselkov, and Worth, "Small Tribes," 180.
- 70 Tonti, "Relation," 87, 89; Tonti, "Letter," 222; Tonti, "Memoir," 64; Membré, "Letter," 212; Membré, "Relation," 176; La Salle, "The Nicolas de la Salle Journal," 110–11, 112 (quote), 118; Minet, "Voyage Made from Canada," 52–53; La Métairie, "Official Report," 133.
- 71 Franquelin, "Carte de l'Amérique Septentrionale: depuis le 25 jusqu'au 15 deg"; Franquelin, "Amérique septentrionale"; Goddard, Galloway, Jeter, Waselkov, and Worth, "Small Tribes," 185.
- 72 Blitz and Mann, "Fisherfolk," 101–5; Bense, *Archaeology of the Southeastern United States*, 234–38; Milanich, *Archaeology of Precolumbian Florida*, 380–87; Rees, "Plaque-mine Mounds," 87–92. On the Bottle Creek site, see the essays in Ian W. Brown, *Bottle Creek*.
- 73 Brose, "Forward," xx; Ian W. Brown, "Introduction," 1–2, 7; Fuller, "Origin and Evolution of Pensacola Culture," 61–62; Drooker, "Matting and Pliable Fabrics." Jenkins, in



- "Tracing the Origins of the Early Creeks," 209, suggests that Bottle Creek was settled by disgruntled competitors for chiefly office.
- 74 Blitz and Mann, "Fisherfolk," 60–62; Waselkov and Gums, *Plantation Archaeology*, 6–34.
  - 75 Minet, "Voyage Made from Canada," 54.
  - 76 Tonti, "Relation," 89; Tonti, "Letter," 223; Tonti, "Memoir," 63; Membré, "Relation," 177, 180 (quote); La Salle, "The Nicolas de la Salle Journal," 113–14; Minet, "Voyage Made from Canada," 54. La Métairie, in "Official Report," 134, identifies this town as Maheouala, but Goddard, Galloway, Jeter, Waselkov, and Worth, in "Small Tribes," 177, 186, document Maheouala as a separate town from Tangibao; they also understand Iberville, who identified Tangibao later as a Quinipissa town, to have confused the Colapissas with the Quinipissas. They conclude that it was a Colapissa, not a Quinipissa, town.
  - 77 On the expedition's exploration of the mouth of the Mississippi River, see Minet, "Voyage Made from Canada," 54–56; La Métairie, "Official Report," 134; Membré, "Relation," 178–80; Membré, "Letter," 212; Tonti, "Relation," 89–91; Tonti, "Memoir," 65; Tonti, "Letter," 222–24; and La Salle, "The Nicolas de la Salle Journal," 114–17.
  - 78 Goddard, Galloway, Jeter, Waselkov, and Worth, "Small Tribes," 182–83. Minet and La Salle wrote that the women told them it was the Houma and Chucalissa; see Minet, "Voyage Made from Canada," 57; La Salle, "The Journal of Nicolas de la Salle," 117; and Membré, "Letter," 212. See also Tonti, "Memoir," 64; and Tonti, "Letter," 224. Tonti, in "Relation," 89, identifies the attackers as the Chouchoumas. Goddard, Galloway, Jeter, Waselkov, and Worth, "Small Tribes," 187, caution that it is not obvious that Tonti's reference can be equated with the Houma. Snyder, in *Slavery in Indian Country*, 59, identifies the attackers as Houmas and Chickasaws. Goddard, Galloway, Jeter, Waselkov, and Worth, in "Small Tribes," 183, however, identify the "Chigilousa," as recorded by the French as a miscopy of "Ougilousa," or the Okelousa, not the Chickasaws.
  - 79 Franquelin, "Carte de la Louisiane"; Franquelin, "Carte de l'Amerique Septentrionale"; Goddard, Galloway, Jeter, Waselkov, and Worth, "Small Tribes," 182–83; Goddard, Galloway, Jeter, Waselkov, and Worth, in "Small Tribes," 183, believe that Franquelin transposed the Okelousa and Tangibao towns.
  - 80 La Salle, "The Nicolas de la Salle Journal," 118–19; Minet, "Voyage Made from Canada," 57–58; Tonti, "Relation," 97; Tonti, "Letter," 226–27; Tonti, "Memoir," 64–65; Sauvole, *Journal*, 37 (quote); Membré, "Relation," 181–83. Membré later notes that none of the Indians they encountered had guns or metal tools; see Membré, "Relation," 192.
  - 81 La Salle, "The Nicolas de la Salle Journal," 120–21 (quote on 120); Minet, "Voyage from Canada," 59; Tonti, "Relation," 99 (quote); Tonti, "Memoir," 65; Membré, "Relation," 183–84. Tonti, in "Letter," 227, says they did not spend the night at the Koroa town.
  - 82 La Salle, "The Nicolas de la Salle Journal," 121–23 (quote on 121); Minet, "Voyage Made from Canada," 59–61; Tonti, "Relation," 101–3; Tonti, "Letter," 227; Tonti, "Memoir," 65; Membré, "Relation," 184.
  - 83 Tonti is the only chronicler to report that the Mosopeleas were refugees in Taensa. La Salle and Minet report only that La Salle gave the mico of Taensa his Mosopelea slave. See Tonti, "Relation," 103–4; La Salle, "The Nicolas de la Salle Journal," 123; Minet, "Voyage Made from Canada," 62.
  - 84 Tonti, "Memoir," 67–68 (quote on 68); Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 87–88; Campisi, "Houma," 633 (Figure 1).
  - 85 Tonti, "Memoir," 69–71.
  - 86 *Ibid.*, 71–74.

- 87 Early, *Caddoan Saltmakers*; Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 353–70; Perttula, “*Caddo Nation*,” 18–27; La Vere, *Caddo Chiefdoms*, 10–33, 66–73.
- 88 Early, “The Caddos,” 123–33; Perttula, “Social Changes,” 257 (quote), 260–68; Perttula, “European Contact,” 511–14; Peter H. Wood, “Changing Populations,” 80; La Vere, *Caddo Chiefdoms*, 34–36; Hickerson, “Historical Processes.”
- 89 Early, “The Caddo,” 127–28; Perttula, “Social Changes,” 259; Perttula, “*Caddo Nation*,” 198–217; La Vere, *Caddo Chiefdoms*, 36, 61–62; Tonti, “Memoir,” 73, 74 (quote); Joutel, *The La Salle Expedition*, 252–53 (quote on 253).
- 90 Joutel, *The La Salle Expedition*, 244, 247, 248, 257 (quote), 261 (quote); Perttula, “*Caddo Nation*,” 202–7; La Vere, *Caddo Chiefdoms*, 52–55.
- 91 Tonti, “Memoir,” 78.
- 92 Many scholars have proposed various scenarios for the origins and movements of the central Mississippi Valley and Yazoo River valley people. See Smith, “Aboriginal Population Movements in the Postcontact Southeast,” 17–18; Ramenofsky, *Vectors of Death*, 42–71; Ian W. Brown, “An Archaeological Study,” 177–79; Brain, “Late Prehistoric Settlement Patterning”; and Mainfort, “Late Prehistoric.” For a summary of this work, see Jeter, “From Prehistory through Protohistory,” 177–224.

## CHAPTER 6

- 1 Lauber, *Indian Slavery in Colonial Times*, 70, 76, 78. Usner, in *American Indians*, 52, reports the presence of a French *voyageur* among the Caddo in 1699 who had been there for several years. These more than likely were the men who defected from Tonti’s third expedition.
- 2 Lauber, *Indian Slavery in Colonial Times*, 75–78, 168; Nairne, *Nairne’s Muskhogean Journals*, 37; Abstract of Letters from Bienville to Pontchartrain, July 28, 1706, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives* 2:25; Census of Louisiana by La Salle, August 12, 1708, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives* 2:31–32; Duclos to Pontchartrain, October 25, 1713, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives* 2:81.
- 3 Tonti, “Memoir,” 68, 71; Joutel, *The La Salle Expedition*, 265, 267–68; Crane, “The Tennessee River”; Caldwell, “Tonty and the Beginning of the Arkansas Post.” The Arkansas Post changed locations several times; however, archaeologists believe they have found the original post established by Couture; see House, “Wallace Bottom.” Galloway, in “Henri de Tonti du Villages,” 148, states that it is quite likely that English traders also began trading at this post soon after Tonti established it.
- 4 Tanner, “The Land and Water Communication Systems”; Tanner, “Hypothesis.”
- 5 The French documents from Canada indicate much north-south movement of Indians and Frenchmen; see Archives des Colonies, Séries C11, Correspondence à l’arrivée, Canada, Archives Nationales d’Outre Mer, Aix-en-Provence (hereafter cited as AC C11).
- 6 Iberville, *Iberville’s Gulf Journals*, 175; Abraham Wood, “Letter of Abraham Wood,” 218, 221–23; Briceland, *Westward from Virginia*, 169; Archives des Colonies, Séries C13, Correspondence à l’arrivée, Louisiane, Archives Nationales d’Outre Mer, Aix-en-Provence (hereafter cited as AC C13); AC C11. The documents from Louisiana and Canada contain many references to such movements; however, the full scope of this kind of long-distance trade by the Southern Indians during the colonial era has not been fully explored.
- 7 Iberville, *Iberville’s Gulf Journals*, 174–75. Iberville claims that the Chickasaws had a town on the Wabash, but according to Crane, in “The Tennessee River,” Iberville mis-

took the Wabash for the Tennessee River. Atkinson, in *Splendid Land*, 10, also believes Iberville was confused and that his reference to a Chickasaw town on the Wabash referred to the one on the Tennessee River.

- 8 Crane, "The Tennessee River"; Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 65, 67; Atkinson, *Splendid Land*, 10; Sauvole to Pontchartrain, August 4, 1701, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives* 2:14; Gravier, "Journal of the Voyage," 124–25; Delisle, "Carte du Mexique"; Sauvole, *Journal*, 52–53. Kelton, in *Epidemics and Enslavement*, 123–24, makes a similar argument.
- 9 Gallay, in *Indian Slave Trade*, 103–4, notes that the Chickasaws most likely were dealing directly with English traders who were trading along the Ohio River by the 1670s. Bland, "The Discovery of New Brittain," 8, 11, 17; Fallam, "John Clayton's Transcript of the Journal," 188, 190; Abraham Wood, "Letter of Abraham Wood," 214, 218; Harrison, "Western Explorations"; Tonti, "Memoir," 68–69; Briceland, *Westward from Virginia*, 134 (Figure 10), 157; Waselkov, "Seventeenth-Century Trade," 118; Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 14–17; Kelton, *Epidemics and Enslavement*, 115–18; Rice, *Nature and History*, 92–107; Snyder, *Slavery in Indian Country*, 51. Steven Hahn, in "The Mother of Necessity," 191–92, documents such rumors circulating through Spanish Florida, as well. It should be noted that Indians, too, marked trees as signposts while traveling; however, their marks were distinctive from the blazes of European travelers.
- 10 Lauber covers all of eastern North America in this early work, but he shows that there was much trafficking in slaves between Indian groups as well as between Indians and Europeans; see especially his chapter on inter-Indian warfare and slaving in *Indian Slavery in Colonial Times*, 118–52. Gallay does not explicitly discuss an inter-Indian trade network, but he documents instances of such; Gallay, *Indian Slave Trade*, 288–314.
- 11 Mazrim and Esarey, "Rethinking the Dawn of History," 151–57, 185–87; Easery, "Colonialism before Contact"; Crane, "The Tennessee River," 4–5. See also Tonti, "Memoir," 45, 55, 60, 69; and Marquette, "Mississippi Voyage," 252. Other goods would have been circulated this way as well; see Fox, "North-South Copper Axis."
- 12 The most up-to-date analysis of Lamhatty's origins and journey is in Waselkov, "Indian Maps," 292–343. Waselkov also refines earlier interpretations by David Bushnell and John Swanton; see David Bushnell, "The Account of Lamhatty"; and Swanton, "Tawasa Language." Swanton, in "Tawasa Language," first identified the Tawasa language as being Timucuan, and Waselkov, in "Indian Maps," 317–18, suggests that the Tawasa joined with the Apalachees, Timucuans, and Chacatos who, fleeing the La Florida slave raids in 1706, moved from the Spanish missions in present-day Florida to Mobile, where they petitioned the French for protection. Also, the Lamhatty accounts report that Lamhatty was captured by Tuscaroras and traveled through many Tuscarora towns. Bushnell and Swanton identified the towns as Creek towns in present-day Alabama and Georgia; and Swanton, "Tawasa Language," 439, proposed that the misinformation was due to the Tuscarora interpreter. Waselkov, in "Indian Maps," notes that some scholars accept the Lamhatty version as it is written, but he goes on to corroborate Swanton's conclusion and understands that Lamhatty was enslaved by Creeks during the 1706–7 Creek/Carolina campaign against the Spanish missions and not Tuscaroras. More recently, Gallay, *Indian Slave Trade*, 307–8, accepts the account of Tuscaroras capturing Lamhatty. John H. Hann thinks that Lamhatty's interpreter misconstrued much about the story and that Lamhatty himself was confused on his movements; see Hann, "Florida's Terra Incognita," 96. Despite the controversy, Lamhatty's story is important,

- as it is perhaps one of the only recorded firsthand accounts by a Southern Indian slave of captivity.
- 13 This quote comes from Beverley's account of Lamhatty published in Waselkov, "Indian Maps," 316. Galloway, in *Indian Slave Trade*, 307–8, recognizes the change in Walker's treatment of Lamhatty as due to Walker's realization that the Tawasas, and hence Lamhatty, were slaves.
  - 14 Cegielski, "A GIS-Based Analysis of Chickasaw Settlement," 72–85; Cegielski and Lieb, "Hina'Falaa, 'The Long Path'"; Nairne, *Nairne's Muskogean Journals*, 37.
  - 15 These routes are depicted on several colonial maps, but see especially Delisle, "Carte du Louisiane et du Cours de Mississipi"; Nairne, "A Map of South Carolina"; and De Crenay, "Map of the Territory."
  - 16 Johnson, O'Hear, Ethridge, Lieb, Scott, Jackson, and Jacobi, "Measuring Chickasaw Adaptations," 14–19, 21; Nairne, *Nairne's Muskogean Journals*, 47. Johnson, O'Hear, Ethridge, Lieb, Scott, Jackson, and Jacobi interpret the relatively high amount of bear in the faunal collection of the sites they examine to be attributable to the Chickasaws having guns, which would have made bear hunting easier and less dangerous.
  - 17 Stubbs, in "Chickasaw Contact," 42, 44, 46, concludes that the La Salle accounts indicate that the Chickasaws probably were not yet armed with European guns, that they ranged far and wide, and that they had free access to the Mississippi River.
  - 18 Atkinson, "Historic Chickasaw Cultural Material"; Jesse D. Jennings, "Chickasaw and Earlier Indian Cultures"; Marshall, "Lyon's Bluff Site"; Jay K. Johnson, "The Chickasaws"; Lolley, "Archaeology at the Lyon's Bluff Site"; Rafferty, "A Seriation"; Snyder, *Slavery in Indian Country*, 50–51.
  - 19 Atkinson, *Splendid Land*, 9. The Coronelli map is reproduced in Galloway, *Choctaw Genesis*, 234.
  - 20 Douay, "Narrative of La Salle's Attempt," 2:255.
  - 21 Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 17; "Order Concerning the Trade with the Westoes and Cussatoes Indians," April 10, 1677, in Cheves, *Shaftesbury Papers*, 388–89; Woodward, "A Faithfull Relation"; Rivers, *A Sketch of the History*, 388–89. There are a few documentary hints that some small trade began with the Cussetas after Woodward's 1674 visit; Kelton, *Epidemics and Enslavement*, 133; Reding, "Plans for the Colonization," 173, 174; Hahn, *Invention of the Creek Nation*, 31–33.
  - 22 Galloway, *Indian Slave Trade*, 225–26, 232–34; Martin, "Southeastern Indians and the English Trade," 312.
  - 23 For the Occaneechis, see Ward and Davis, *Indian Communities*, 430; and Davis, "Cultural Landscape," 144. For the Westos, see Bowne, "The Rise and Fall," 71–73; and Bowne, *The Westo Indians*, 89–105. For the Iroquois, see Richter, *Ordeal of the Longhouse*, 148–90; Merrell, *Indians' New World*, 41–42. Neil Whitehead, in "Tribes Make States," 138, sees a similar process in South America, where colonial tribal mercenaries became the objects of later European military campaigns. Joel Martin was one of the first to recognize that the series of early colonial Indian wars was tied to the Indian trade system; see Martin, "Southeastern Indians and the English Trade," 312.
  - 24 Davis, "Cultural Landscape," 151–53 (Figure 8 on 152); Fitts and Heath, "Indians Refusing," 155–56.
  - 25 Lawson, *A New Voyage*, 32; Davis, "Cultural Landscape," 151–53; Ward and Davis, "Tribes and Traders," 135; Rudes, Blumer, and May, "Catawba," 302 (Figure 1), 309.
  - 26 Davis, "Cultural Landscape," 152; Ward and Davis, "Tribes and Traders," 135–37 (quote on 135).

- 27 Kelton, *Epidemics and Enslavement*, 143–48; Ward and Davis, *Time before History*, 257–60.
- 28 Davis, “Cultural Landscape,” 151–53; Ward and Davis, “Tribes and Traders”; *Time before History*, 257–60; Ward and Davis, “Impact of Old World Diseases.”
- 29 Davis, “Cultural Landscape,” 151–53; Ward and Davis, “Tribes and Traders,” 135–37.
- 30 Davis, “Cultural Landscape,” 152; Ward and Davis, “Tribes and Traders,” 137.
- 31 Merrell, *Indians’ New World*, 40, 54, 97; Boyce, “As the Wind Scatters Smoke,” 152; Ward and Davis, *Time before History*, 224–25, 256–57; Galloway, *Indian Slave Trade*, 266, 267–68.
- 32 Davis, “Cultural Landscape,” 151–53 (Figure 8 on 152); Fitts and Heath, “Indians Refusing,” 144–46.
- 33 “Council Journals,” 1672–73, in Cheves, *Shaftesbury Papers*, 428; Oatis, *Colonial Complex*, 88; Galloway, *Indian Slave Trade*, 53–54; Galloway, “South Carolina’s Entrance into the Indian Slave Trade,” 121–22; Merrell, *Indians’ New World*, 36–37, 54 105. Fitts and Heath make the point about the Catawba strategy for surviving in the shatter zone; they call this “ethnic soldiering,” after Ferguson and Whitehead, “The Violent Edge of Empire”; see Fitts and Heath, “Indians Refusing,” 147–51.
- 34 Woodward, “A Faithful Relation,” 133; Perdue, *Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society*, 20–21; Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 40–41, 62.
- 35 Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 40–41; Calloway, *The Shawnees*, 11; Warren and Noe, “The Greatest Travelers in America,” 173–74; Kelton, *Epidemics and Enslavement*, 132; Galloway, *Indian Slave Trade*, 56; Ramsey, *The Yamasee War*, 110–12.
- 36 Harrison, “Western Explorations,” 329–34; Perdue, *Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society*, 20–21.
- 37 Ward and Davis, *Time before History*, 265–66; Rodning, “Reconstructing the Coalescence,” 174–75; Schroedl, “Cherokee Ethnohistory,” 212–13; Kelton, *Epidemics and Enslavement*, 152–54; Shuck-Hall, “Alabama and Coushatta Diaspora,” 258–59; Salley, *Journal of the Commons House of Assembly*, 1703, 75–76; Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 105. For a detailed analysis of early eighteenth-century Cherokee settlement patterns, see Gragson and Bolstad, “A Local Analysis.”
- 38 Perdue, *Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society*, 26, 23–35; Riggs, “Reconsidering Chestowee”; Worth, “On the Yuchi of the Contact Era”; and Jackson, “Yuchi,” 426. In regard to some Yuchis attaching themselves to those forming the Esaws (Catawbans), Waselkov infers such from a 1721 deerskin map in which the name “Youchine” is depicted in association with the Catawbans. However, he is quick to add that there is no other independent historical reference to the Yuchis allying with the Catawbans; see Waselkov, “Indian Maps,” 323–24.
- 39 Pirates have long held a place in the American imagination, and pirate activity in the Atlantic has been long noted by historians. Although pirates’ participation in the North American Indian slave trade is well documented in the historic record, scholars have yet to assess the full impact of pirate slave raiding on Indian people. For recent scholarship on Atlantic piracy, see Cordingly, *Under the Black Flag*; and Earle, *The Pirate Wars*.
- 40 Worth, “Yamasee,” 245–53; *Struggle for the Georgia Coast*, 18–20, 36–38; Worth, “Lower Creeks,” 172–73; Hall, “Anxious Alliances,” 162–68. Mark Williams, in “Growth and Decline of the Oconee Province,” 193, notes that, to date, no known eighteenth-century sites from the lower Chattahoochee are associated with the former Ocute; however, there was an historic town named Oconee located there, and also a town named Ocute was documented as being briefly in Apalachicola in 1685.

- 41 Oatis, *A Colonial Complex*, 26; Green, DePratter, and Southerlin, "The Yamasee," 19–20.
- 42 Oatis, *A Colonial Complex*, 26–29; Ramsey, "All and Singular the Slaves," 168; Worth, "Yamasee," 251; Green, DePratter, and Southerlin, "The Yamasee," 19–21.
- 43 Oatis, *A Colonial Complex*, 26–29; Ramsey, "All and Singular the Slaves," 168; Worth, "Yamasee," 251; Green, DePratter, and Southerlin, "The Yamasee," 19–21; Matthew H. Jennings, "Violence in a Shattered World," 284–86. On Yamasee slaving, see Jennings, "Violence in a Shattered World"; Worth, "Razing Florida"; Kelton, "Shattered and Infected"; and Kelton, *Epidemics and Enslavement*, 179–82.
- 44 Salley, *Records in the British Public Records Office*, 1:159–60; Nairne, *Nairne's Muskogean Journals*, 50; Bowne, *Westo Indians*, 82–85, 110–11; Galloway, *Choctaw Genesis*, 170–73; Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 46.
- 45 Oatis, *A Colonial Complex*, 30–31; Hall, "Anxious Alliances," 162–68; Hahn, *Invention of the Creek Nation*, 41–47.
- 46 Oatis, *A Colonial Complex*, 30; Hann, *Apalachee*, 188; Hann, *Native American World*, 96–96, 99; Reding, "Plans for the Colonization." For a discussion on the changeable nature of the Spanish alliance with Apalachicola, see Hall, "Anxious Alliances."
- 47 Oatis, *A Colonial Complex*, 30–31; Woodward quoted in *ibid.*, 31; Hann, *Native American World*, 106–11; Hahn, *Invention of the Creek Nation*, 44–46.
- 48 Oatis, *A Colonial Complex*, 32; Hann, *Native American World*, 106–11; Hann, *Apalachee*, 189; Hahn, *Invention of the Creek Nation*, 44–46.
- 49 Oatis, *A Colonial Complex*, 33; Hann, *Native American World*, 67; Hahn, *Invention of the Creek Nation*, 50–51; Stewart, "Letters from Stewart to Dunlop," 30.
- 50 Waselkov, "Macon Trading House," 195; Mason, *Archaeology of Ocmulgee Old Fields*, 10–11, 31–46, 82–104; Ramsey, *The Yamasee War*, 107–8.
- 51 Hahn, *Invention of the Creek Nation*, 51; Worth, "Lower Creeks," 281–82; Smith, "Aboriginal Population Movements in the Postcontact Southeast," 15 (Figure 5).
- 52 Waselkov and Smith, "Upper Creek Archaeology," 248–49, 250–51; Hann, *Native American World*, 45; Waselkov and Gums, "Plantation Archaeology," 31–32; Goddard, Galloway, Jeter, Waselkov, and Worth, "Small Tribes," 186.
- 53 Waselkov and Smith, "Upper Creek Archaeology," 255–56; Galloway, *Indian Slave Trade*, 139; Nairne, "A Map of South Carolina"; Nairne, *Nairne's Muskogean Journals*, 35. Swanton, in *Early History*, 246, posits that the Okfuskees were closely related to the Abihkas (Coosas). A later map drawn from Nairne's journey and depicting his route shows the expedition stopping at the Tallapoosa towns on the lower Tallapoosa; see Nairne, "A Map of South Carolina (1711)." The Mitchell map, "A Map of the British and French Dominions," drawn in 1755 with the route of Nairne and Welch, shows Okfuskee on the upper Tallapoosa and has Nairne's expedition stopping there. Alexander Moore, in "Introduction," 15, uses the Mitchell map to place Nairne at Okfuskee; he then concludes that Okfuskee was the principal town of the Tallapoosas. This is incorrect; the principal town of the Tallapoosas was Tukabatchee. I would contend that it is unclear whether or not Nairne went to Okfuskee.
- 54 For a detailed history of the Okfuskees during the eighteenth century, see Piker, *Okfuskee*.
- 55 Stewart, "Letters from Stewart to Dunlop."
- 56 Galloway, *The Indian Slave Trade*, 162–63; Kelton, *Epidemics and Enslavement*, 138–39; Stewart, "Letters from Stewart to Dunlop," June 23, 1690, 92; Stewart, "Letters from Stewart to Dunlop," October 20, 1693, 171–72. Stewart's claims to the Indian trade have

- often been downplayed as exaggeration, but Gally, in an in-depth exploration of Stewart's activities, gives credence to Stewart's claims and understands him to have had an impact on the formation of the Indian slave trade in the Carolinas; see Gally, *Indian Slave Trade*, 155–64.
- 57 Gibson, *The Chickasaws*, 34; Atkinson, *Splendid Land*, 25; Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 47–70; Crane, “The Southern Frontier in Queen Anne’s War,” 382; Cumming and De Vorsey, *The Southeast in Early Maps*, 24–26, Plates 48, 59. This six-year interval between Stewart’s visit and that of Dodsworth and Welch to the Chickasaws may be a reflection of the lack of documentation rather than an absence of British traders venturing this far west.
  - 58 Nairne, *Nairne’s Muskhogean Journals*, 47.
  - 59 Iberville, *Iberville’s Gulf Journals*, 21; Galloway, *Choctaw Genesis*, 184.
  - 60 Iberville, *Iberville’s Gulf Journals*, 4, 32–33, 135–36; du Ru, *Journal*, 58–62; Galloway, *Choctaw Genesis*, 192. For an overview of the archaeology of the presidio, see Bense, *Presidio Santa María de Galve*.
  - 61 Iberville, *Iberville’s Gulf Journals*, 37–38; Pénicaut, *Fleur de Lys*, 11 (quote).
  - 62 Ian W. Brown, *Bottle Creek*; Waselkov and Gums, *Plantation Archaeology*, 6 (quote), 7.
  - 63 Waselkov and Gums, *Plantation Archaeology*, 7, 17; Lankford, “Chacato,” 666; Wenholt, *Seventeenth-Century Letter*, 10; Boyd, “Expedition of Marcos Delgado,” 12, 19; Iberville, *Iberville’s Gulf Journals*, 37–38, 141; Pénicaut, *Fleur de Lys*, 11. Lankford, in “Chacato,” 668, states that the Mobilians were the descendants of Mabila of the Soto era. Waselkov and Gums, in *Plantation Archaeology*, 7, likewise make this connection, although they are careful to point out that the issue is unresolved. On the other hand, Knight and Adams, in “Voyage to the Mobile and Tomeh,” 184, issue a caution in making any such assumption. Recent archaeological investigations indicate that Mabila may have had Pensacola cultural roots, and that upon its decline, many of the people moved to the Mobile delta; see Regnier, “Examinations of the Social Composition,” 259–60.
  - 64 Knight and Adams, “A Voyage to the Mobile and Tomeh,” 182, 184. Levassuer translates Mananboullay as “the man who speaks well,” but Knight and Adams believe the name contains the Choctaw word *na boli*, or “striker.”
  - 65 Pénicaut, *Fleur de Lys*, 64; Iberville, *Iberville’s Gulf Journals*, 168, 169 (quote); Charlevoix, *Charlevoix’s Louisiana*, 154 (quote); Knight and Adams, “A Voyage to the Mobile and Tomeh,” 185.
  - 66 Knight and Adams, “A Voyage to the Mobile and Tomeh,” 182–83, 186, 189; Lankford, “Chacato,” 666–67; Iberville, *Iberville’s Gulf Journals*, 141, 170. In 1565 the Pardo accounts of Native political offices indicated that the mico held power over several towns, while the *orata* constituted the headmen of a single town; Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expedition*, 63, 215, 263; Beck, “Catawba Coalescence,” 124–25. The ougas and outactas may represent offices similar to the *orata*, although these ougas of the Tohomés did not resemble Mississippian micos.
  - 67 Knight and Adams, “A Voyage to the Mobile and Tomeh,” 182–83, 186, 189; La Harpe, “Historical Journal,” 20, 23; Iberville, *Iberville’s Gulf Journals*, 141, 170. Usner, *American Indians*, 38, estimates a population of 1,000 men (about 4,000 people total) for the entire Gulf coast in 1700. Lankford, in “Chacato,” 666, puts the Tohomé population at 600 warriors, although he does not cite his reference for this figure.
  - 68 Knight and Adams, “A Voyage to the Mobile and Tomeh,” 181, 182 (quote); for a discussion of Levasseur’s list, see Knight and Adams, “A Voyage to the Mobile and Tomeh,” 189–92. Bienville reported that the Mobilians were at war with the Conchaques and

- Alibamoms; see Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 168–69. Goddard, Galloway, Jeter, Waselkov, and Worth, in “Small Tribes,” 178–79, believe “Conchaques” is a synonym for the Coosas or Abihkas. On the Tawasas, see Goddard, Galloway, Jeter, Waselkov, and Worth, “Small Tribes,” 186–87; and Waselkov and Gums, *Plantation Archaeology*, 31–32.
- 69 Galloway, *Choctaw Genesis*, 185; Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 43–45; Pénicaud, *Fleur de Lys*, 5; Waselkov and Gums, *Plantation Archaeology*, 23.
- 70 Waselkov and Gums, *Plantation Archaeology*, 22–23.
- 71 Galloway, *Choctaw Genesis*, 246–49; Waselkov and Gums, *Plantation Archaeology*, 24–25; Goddard, Galloway, Jeter, Waselkov, and Worth, “Small Tribes,” 176; Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 45; Cumming and De Vorse, *The Southeast in Early Maps*, Plate 47; Memoir on Louisiana by Bienville, 1726, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives* 3:535.
- 72 Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 140–41; Pénicaud, *Fleur de Lys*, 18–20; La Harpe, “Historical Journal,” 22–23; Memoir on Louisiana by Bienville, 1726, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives* 3:535–37; Sauvole, *Journal*, 28, 31, 33; Waselkov and Gums, *Plantation Archaeology*, 23–25; Goddard, Galloway, Jeter, Waselkov, and Worth, “Small Tribes,” 185; Usner, *American Indians*, 37–38.
- 73 Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 45, 92, 139–40; Pénicaud, *Fleur de Lys*, 81; Sauvole, *Journal*, 28; Waselkov and Gums, *Plantation Archaeology*, 25–26; Brain, Roth, and de Reuse, “Tunica, Biloxi, and Ofo,” 593; Galloway, *Choctaw Genesis*, 188–89.
- 74 Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 45–48 (quote on 46). Pénicaud, *Fleur de Lys*, 5–8, elaborates on this visit, but his narrative is difficult to corroborate because of his confusing chronology of events.
- 75 Goddard, Galloway, Jeter, Waselkov, and Worth, “Small Tribes,” 175; Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 48 n. 69.
- 76 Tonti, “Henri Tonty Letters,” 224; Memoir on Louisiana by Bienville, 1726, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 3:527–28; Usner, *American Indians*, 44; Goddard, Galloway, Jeter, Waselkov, and Worth, “Small Tribes,” 189; Brightman, “Chitimacha,” 642–44; Rees, “Plaquemine Mounds.”
- 77 Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 45–46, 63; Sauvole, *Journal*, 31, 37; Montigny, “Montigny to Pontchartrain,” 207–8, 220; Usner, *American Indians*, 44. On the archaeology of the Chitimachas, see Rees, “Plaquemine Mounds.”
- 78 Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 49.
- 79 *Ibid.*, 53–55, 56, 74 (quote). Swanton, in *Indians of the Southeastern United States*, 158, first asserted that the Nipissas were absorbed by the Chickasaws. Subsequently, Brightman and Wallace, in “Chickasaw,” 491, and McWilliams, in Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 56 n. 79, reassert Swanton's assessment.
- 80 Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 58; Goddard, Galloway, Jeter, Waselkov, and Worth, “Small Tribes,” 175.
- 81 Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 59, 63; Memoir on Louisiana by Bienville, 1726, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 3:528; Usner, *American Indians*, 44. Tonti, “Henri Tonty Letters,” 225, puts the population figure for the Bayagoulamougoulacha town at 180 men, and he includes the Quinipissas.
- 82 Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 59–61. Iberville carried with him two inaccurate accounts—one by the Jesuit priest Father Hennepin, which later proved to be a hoax, and another published account said to be penned by Tonti but that was later proved to be a forgery.



- 83 Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 60–61.
- 84 Ibid., 61–63; du Ru, *Journal*, 20 (quote); Usner, *American Indians*, 44.
- 85 Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 67–69, 176; Pénicaut, *Fleur de Lys*, 25–26; Usner, *American Indians*, 46; Campisi, “Houma,” 632. Tonti, “Henri Tonty Letters,” 226, estimated about 200 men in the town.
- 86 Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 70–72, 70 (quote), 74 (quote); Pénicaut, *Fleur de Lys*, 27; Galloway, *Choctaw Genesis*, 186. The accounts also list the Ouispé in this group of Yazoo Basin Indians, however, Goddard, Galloway, Jeter, Waselkov, and Worth, in “Small Tribes,” 183–84, suggest that “Ouispé” was the Tunican name for the Ofos (Ofogoula), and therefore the Ouispés and the Ofogoulas were the same people.
- 87 Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 76, 87–89; Sauvole, *Journal*, 21–22. Tonti's letter is transcribed in Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 87–88; La Harpe, “Historical Journal,” 14; Tonti, “Henri Tonty Letters,” 225–26; Swanton, *Indian Tribes of the Southeastern United States*, 279–81; Galloway, *Choctaw Genesis*, 187, 188. Goddard, Galloway, Jeter, Waselkov, and Worth, in “Small Tribes,” 181, citing Tonti, point out the Mougoulacha-Quinipissa error. According to one of Tonti's guides, the source of the error may be that a Mougoulacha man was the mico of the Quinipissas at the time of Tonti's 1686 visit; see Sauvole, *Journal*, 31, 34. If this were the case, then obviously the two groups had close connections or the Quinipissas were already being absorbed by the Mougoulachas.
- The site of Fort Maurepas has received some archaeological attention, although the fort itself has not been found; see Blitz, Mann, and Bellande, “Fort Maurepas and Vieux Biloxi”; Held, “Using Remote Sensing.”
- 88 Kellog, *Early Narratives*, 338–40. The fathers were stationed in various towns along the Mississippi. Father Davion went to the Tunicas; Father Montigny went first to the Taensas and then to the Natchez; and Father Saint-Cosme and de la Source were stationed with the Tamoras and Cahokias. Saint-Cosme was later posted to Natchez; on his way there, he was killed by some Chitimacha Indians. De la Source eventually returned to Montreal, and Davion and Montigny returned to France.
- 89 Saint-Cosme, “Letter,” 60–61. We know very little about the Karkinonpol; Hodge, *Handbook*, 2:644–45, equates the Karkinonpol with the Kakinonba or Kaskinonba, who likely lived along the middle Tennessee River or in present-day Kentucky. Swanton, *Early History*, 213, erroneously equates the Karkinonpols with the Casqui of Soto's day, which Soto mistakenly placed on the Tennessee River.
- 90 Saint-Cosme, “Letter,” 70, 72; de la Source, “Letter,” 80. Tonti, “Henri Tonty Letters,” 229, puts the adult male population at 200, noting that formerly they had about 1,200 warriors; Kelton, *Epidemics and Enslavement*, 149; Galloway, *Choctaw Genesis*, 187.
- 91 Montigny, “Letter,” 76–77; de la Source, “Letter,” 79–80. Mission efforts among the Quapaws got off to a rocky start. In 1689 Father Claude Deblon was granted permission to build a chapel and mission at the Arkansas Post, but apparently this never came to pass. Father Nicholas Foucault began work with the Quapaws in 1702, but he was killed by some Koroas that same year. They would not have a resident missionary among them again until 1727, when Father du Poisson was stationed there. However, in 1729 Father du Poisson was at Fort Rosalie on the fateful first day of the Natchez Revolt, and he was killed. After this, a series of priests kept a Catholic presence in the Quapaw towns until France ceded the territory in 1763; Larry G. Johnson, *Tur Creek*, 37; DuVal, “A Good Relationship,” 75–78.
- 92 Sauvole, *Journal*, 31; Galloway, *Choctaw Genesis*, 187; La Harpe, “Historical Journal,” 14. Tonti, “Henri Tonty Letters,” 216–17, reported that he had heard of Iberville's arrival on

- the Gulf coast while at Michilimackinac; Father Montigny, however, related that he did not hear of it until later on the Mississippi River; see Tonti, "Henri Tonty Letters," 217 (n. 9).
- 93 De la Source, "Letter," 81 (quote); Montigny, "Letter," 75. Iberville quoted in Tonti, "Henri Tonty Letters," 231 n. 46; Pénicaut, *Fleur de Lys*, 33–34; Sauvole, *Journal*, 36; Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 67; Gibson, *The Chickasaws*, 34 (quote); Galloway, *Choctaw Genesis*, 187–89. Father du Ru mistakenly repeated a rumor that the Chickasaws had killed Davion; du Ru, *Journal*, 22.
  - 94 Sauvole, *Journal*, 22–24, 27, 28–29, 31, 32–33, 35, 38–39, 40–41, 45, 48; Pénicaut, *Fleur de Lys*, 11–19; Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 67; Galloway, *Choctaw Genesis*, 188. Sauvole recorded the Concha and Pinisca as being the threat to the Mobila and Tohomé; Goddard, Galloway, Jeter, Waselkov, and Worth, "Small Tribes," 178–79, believe these are synonyms for the Coosa and Abihka in central Alabama. The Pascagoula chief, Chenoua, possessed a Spanish musket, indicating direct or indirect contact with the Spanish; see Sauvole, *Journal*, 33.
  - 95 Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 107–9; Sauvole, *Journal*, 35–36; Tonti, "Henri Tonty Letters," 215; Pénicaut, *Fleur de Lys*, 30; Galloway, *Choctaw Genesis*, 188; Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 56–57.
  - 96 Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 109–10; Tonti, "Henri Tonty Letters," 216; Sauvole, *Journal*, 29, 36; Galloway, *Choctaw Genesis*, 189.
  - 97 Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 109–10, 119, 110 (quote); Tonti, "Henri Tonty Letters," 231 n. 46. Sauvole, *Journal*, 51, reported in 1700 that one of the Englishmen with the Chickasaws had been robbed and killed by some Canadian *coureurs de bois*.
  - 98 Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 144; Iberville mistakenly placed Couture's river corridor as the Wabash; Crane, in "The Tennessee River," corrected this.
  - 99 Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 144; Tonti, "Henri Tonty Letters," 231; Pénicaut, *Fleur de Lys*, 35; Gravier, "Journal of the Voyage," 126 (quote), 127; Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 65.
  - 100 Sauvole, *Journal*, 52–52; Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 66; Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 166.
  - 101 Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 115–19; du Ru, *Journal*, 6–7 (quote on 7).
  - 102 du Ru, *Journal*, 12; Tonti, "Henri Tonty Letters," 223; Sauvole, *Journal*, 39.
  - 103 du Ru, *Journal*, 15–16; Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 115–19.
  - 104 du Ru, *Journal*, 19 (quote), 22; Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 119–20; Tonti, "Henri Tonty's Letter," 220.
  - 105 Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 120; Galloway, *Choctaw Genesis*, 189; du Ru, *Journal*, 26, 30–31.
  - 106 Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 122; du Ru, *Journal*, 26; Kelton, *Epidemics and Enslavement*, 156.
  - 107 Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 125–26; Tonti, "Henri Tonty Letters," 226–27; Memoir on Louisiana by Bienville, 1726, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 3:530–31; Pénicaut, *Fleur de Lys*, 28; Usner, *American Indians*, 48–49; Swanton, *Indian Tribes of the Southeastern United States*, 334–36.
  - 108 Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 125–26 (quote on 126); du Ru, *Journal*, 34–37.
  - 109 Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 79.
  - 110 Ibid., 132; Barnett, *The Natchez Indians*, 30.
  - 111 Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journal*, 128, 146; Memoir on Louisiana by Bienville, 1726, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 3:532, 536. Tonti, "Henri Tonty

- Letters," 227, estimated the number of Taensa men to be 400. Usner, in *American Indians*, 48, 156–57 n. 61, interprets Montigny's reference in Iberville's journals to the Natchez village as referencing the Taensas and puts the Taensa population in 1700 at 400 men.
- 112 Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 129–30; du Ru, *Journal*, 41 (quotes); Pénicaut, *Fleur de Lys*, 29.
- 113 Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 122–23, 127, 128, 130–32 (quote on 132); du Ru, *Journal*, 31, 41–42, 70; Pénicaut, *Fleur de Lys*, 54–55.
- 114 Ewers, "Influence of Epidemics," 105–7; Perttula, "Caddo Nation," 75, 85, 150; La Vere, *Caddo Chiefdoms*, 33–34, 75–77; Peter H. Wood, "Changing Populations," 82, 83; Usner, *American Indians*, 51. Perttula also makes the point that other documented diseases in Texas in 1674 and 1686 could also have filtered into Caddo country. For a detailed examination of early depopulation among the Caddo, see Perttula, "Caddo Nation," 73–92.
- 115 Perttula, "Caddo Nation," 200–201; Morgan, "Earliest Historic Chickasaw Horse Raids," 106–9; La Vere, *Caddo Chiefdoms*, 62–63.
- 116 For a discussion on the shift from Indian burden bearers to packhorses, see Ramsey, *The Yamasee War*, 190–94.
- 117 Le Page du Pratz, *History of Louisiana*, 318; La Harpe, "Historical Journal," 68; La Vere, *Caddo Chiefdoms*, 64–65, 107–10; Morgan, "Earliest Historic Chickasaw Horse Raids," 101–2, 103, 104–6, 109–10; Swanton, *Source Material on the Caddo*, 12, 57; Perttula, "Caddo Nation," 164, 218.
- 118 Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 132–33 (quote on 133); du Ru, *Journal*, 43, 45.
- 119 Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 145.
- 120 du Ru, *Journal*, 45–54; Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 134; Tonti, "Henri Tonty Letters," 220 n. 1, 222.
- 121 Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 139–42; du Ru, *Journal*, 65–66 (quote on 66); Sauvole, *Journal*, 42–43.
- 122 Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 133, 143–44; du Ru, *Journal*, 66 (quote); La Harpe, "Historical Journal," 19; Montigny, "Montigny to Pontchartrain," 207–8; Le Page du Pratz, *History of Louisiana*, 313; Goddard, Galloway, Jeter, Waselkov, and Worth, "Small Tribes," 177–78, 185; Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 66, 67; Swanton, *Indian Tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley*, 335.
- 123 Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 141; Galloway, *Choctaw Genesis*.
- 124 Galloway, *Choctaw Genesis*, 124, 352–53. Galloway proposes that a group from the Black Warrior also migrated west and joined the Eastern Towns of the Choctaws; recent archaeological investigations indicate this was not the case and that the core of the Eastern Choctaws originated on the lower Tombigbee (the Doctor Lake phase). See Regnier, "A Stylistic Analysis," 132; and Carleton, "Where Did the Choctaw Come From?"
- 125 Galloway, *Choctaw Genesis*, 2, 11, 124, 197, 203, 353; Livingood, "Geographic Limit of Inter-Polity Interaction," 274–75; Livingood, "Re-evaluating the Origins of the Sixtowns Band."
- 126 Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 174; Kernion, "Documents Concerning the History," 38–39; Galloway, *Choctaw Genesis*, 197–99, 204.
- 127 Galloway, *Choctaw Genesis*, 2, 357–58; "Confederation as a Solution," 407, 409 (quote).
- 128 Galloway, *Choctaw Genesis*, 128–63, 353–58; Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 143 (quote); Sauvole, *Journal*, 35–36. Galloway, *Choctaw Genesis*, 71–72, understands the

late Mississippian polities on the Black Warrior and Tombigbee to have been “autonomous villages” and tribal segments of the former Moundville chiefdom and not simple chiefdom remnants as proposed in this work.

129 Galloway, *Indian Slave Trade*, 130.

#### CHAPTER 7

- 1 Galloway, “South Carolina’s Entrance into the Indian Slave Trade,” 114–17; Ramsey, *The Yamasee War*, 26–32.
- 2 Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 68; Galloway, *Choctaw Genesis*, 192.
- 3 Iberville, *Iberville’s Gulf Journals*, 158–59; La Harpe, “Historical Journal,” 20–21; Higginbotham, *Old Mobile*, 95; Waselkov, *Old Mobile Archaeology*, 2–3, 8, 24. The older town site became known as Old Mobile and has received much archaeological attention in recent years; see Waselkov, *Old Mobile Archaeology*.
- 4 Iberville, *Iberville’s Gulf Journals*, 173; La Harpe, “Historical Journal,” 41–42; Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 86, 88; Bienville to Pontchartrain, February 25, 1708, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 3:113; Bienville to Pontchartrain, August 20, 1709, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 3:136; Waselkov and Gums, *Plantation Archaeology*, 9, 19; Lankford, “Chacato,” 667–68.
- 5 Iberville, *Iberville’s Gulf Journals*, 163; La Harpe, “Historical Journal,” 20, 28.
- 6 Tonti, “Extrait d’une lettre de M. de Tonti à M. d’Iberville du village des Chacta, le 23 Fev. 1702 et Extrait d’autre lettre du meme au meme, des Chacta, le 14 mars 1702,” Manuscrits de M. Delisle, Archives du Ministère de la Marine, Séries JJ, Archives du Service Hydrographique, Sous-série 2 JJ 56, Amérique Septentrionale, no. 20. These letters are published in translation in Tonti, “Extract.” For a detailed analysis of Tonti’s letters, see Galloway, “Henri de Tonti.”
- 7 Tonti, “Extract,” 166, 167 (quote), 172; Galloway, *Choctaw Genesis*, 193; Galloway, “Henri de Tonti,” 159.
- 8 Galloway, “Henri de Tonti,” 149.
- 9 Galloway, *Choctaw Genesis*, 312; Tonti, “Extract,” 168.
- 10 Galloway, “Henri de Tonti,” 159.
- 11 Tonti, “Extract,” 168. Tonti does not identify this man by name, but in a later passage he says he is called “a jean”; see Tonti, “Extract,” 172. Galloway, in “Henri de Tonti,” 168, interprets this to be Tonti’s misunderstanding of the English word “agent,” which may have been the word the Chickasaws used in reference to the Englishman. Higginbotham, *Old Mobile*, 64 n. 38, believes that this was a misinterpretation of the name “Johnson,” but this has since been discredited, and most agree with Galloway. We know from later documents that Welch had a *métis* son, James Welch, indicating that Welch (and probably Dodsworth) most likely took up semipermanent residence with the Chickasaws; see Report on the Committee on Indian Affairs, February 29, 1727, in Maxcy, “Chickasaw Ethnohistory,” 55. That the Englishman was fully dressed in Indian garb also tells us that he had become habituated to Chickasaw life in many ways. In 1727 James Welch applied for a license in South Carolina to trade among the Chickasaws. This document notes that James Welch was “related to the Chickasaws,” which most likely meant that Welch’s mother was Chickasaw; see Report of the Joint Committee, 1727, Journal of the Council and Council in Assembly, Public Records Office, Document 18, transcribed in Maxcy, “Chickasaw Ethnohistory,” 56.
- 12 Tonti, “Extract,” 169.
- 13 *Ibid.*, 172.

- 14 Ibid., 169.
- 15 Tonti, "Extract," 169–70 (quotes on 169); Galloway, "Henri de Tonti," 162, 170. The translation of the term *louez* is problematic, as it could be rendered as either "hired" or "praised." If it is the former—as Galloway, in "Henri de Tonti," 162–63, notes—then the party included burden bearers; if it is "praised," then it may indicate that priests or some other notable rank of men accompanied the group.
- 16 Tonti, "Extract," 169–70; Galloway, "Henri de Tonti," 162, 170.
- 17 Census of Louisiana by La Salle, August 1708, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 2:31. On Indian slavery among the French, see Rushforth, "'A Little Flesh'"; Rushforth, "Slavery, the Fox Wars, and the Limits of Alliance"; Ekberg, *Stealing Indian Women*; Galloway, "Choctaws at the Border"; Lauber, *Indian Slavery*, 63–102; Galloway, *Indian Slave Trade*, 308–12.
- 18 Tonti, "Extract," 169–72, (quote on 170); Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 170, 171.
- 19 Nairne, *Nairne's Muskogean Journal*, 56; Galloway, "Henri de Tonti," 163. Galloway here also notes that, although these documentary fragments are informative, one should not make too much of them. In *Choctaw Genesis*, 196, Galloway also reminds us that these so-called chiefs may not have been chiefs in French or Choctaw terms.
- 20 Pénicaut, *Fleur de Lys*, 61; Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 171 (quote), 172 (quote). The livre refers to the French unit of measure, as the French typically exchanged gunpowder and lead shot in amounts of equal weight. Iberville, in *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 172, says the Chickasaws had been slaving for ten years in 1702. Atkinson, in *Splendid Land*, 28–29, makes the point about the lure of the slave trade.
- 21 Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 173 (quote), 176; Pénicaut, *Fleur de Lys*, 67.
- 22 Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 173–74.
- 23 Higginbotham, *Old Mobile*, 81–86; "Mémoire pour Servir d'Instruction," April 25, 1702, Archives des Colonies, Série F3, 24, f. 25v–26v, Archives Nationales de France, Archives Nationales d'Outre Mer; Project sur la Caroline, Archives des Colonies, Série C12, A20, f. 224, Archives Nationales de France, Archives Nationales d'Outre Mer; Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 71–72.
- 24 La Harpe, *Historical Journal*, 28; Pénicaut, *Fleur de Lys*, 101–2; Higginbotham, *Old Mobile*, 93–94, 108–12; Bienville to Pontchartrain, July 28, 1706, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 2:25. Brightman, in "Chitimacha," 649, asserts that the Chitimacha slaves likely were not returned.
- 25 Galloway, *Indian Slave Trade*, 134; Ramsey, *The Yamasee War*, 68–74.
- 26 Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 74–75 (quote on 75); Galloway, *Indian Slave Trade*, 132–33. Higginbotham, *Old Mobile*, 124, states that Bull was sent to the Alabamas, but Higginbotham typically conflates the Tallapoosas with the Alabamas.
- 27 La Harpe, "Historical Journal," 28; Shuck-Hall, *Journey to the West*, 42–43; Shuck-Hall, "Alabama and Coushatta Diaspora," 263–66. La Harpe lists the three groups with whom the Alabamas questioned about making peace as the Mobilians, Tohomés, and Chickasaws. However, since Iberville during the 1702 peace talks specified that peace was to be made between the Alabamas and the Mobilians, Tohomés, and Choctaws, La Harpe, writing several years after the events, may have been in error by listing the Chickasaws, especially since the Alabamas and Chickasaws were partners at this time. Galloway, *Indian Slave Trade*, 134–35, following La Harpe, states that the Alabamas and Chickasaws were enemies.
- 28 Nairne, "A Map of South Carolina."

- 29 Worth, *Timucuan Chiefdoms*, 2:140–44; Worth, “Razing Florida,” 300–301; Hahn, *Invention of the Creek Nation*, 60–61; Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 74.
- 30 Boyd, Smith, and Griffin, *Here They Once Stood*, 34, 37–38; Worth, *Timucuan Chiefdoms*, 2:140–44; Hann, *Apalachee*, 190, 233–34, 325–26; Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 74.
- 31 Milanich, *Florida Indians*, 225; Galloway, *Indian Slave Trade*, 135–36; Hahn, *Invention of the Creek Nation*, 61–68; Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 75–76; Ashe, “The Present State of Affairs,” 272 (quote).
- 32 Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 78–79; Hann, *Apalachee*, 191, 234–35; Worth, *Timucuan Chiefdoms*, 145; Worth, “Razing Florida,” 302–3; Hann, *Native American World*, 67; Galloway, *Indian Slave Trade*, 144–45; La Harpe, “Historical Journal,” 29; Boyd, Smith, and Griffin, *Here They Once Stood*, 48–95.
- 33 Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 78–79; Hann, *Apalachee*, 191, 234–35; Worth, *Timucuan Chiefdoms*, 145; Worth, “Razing Florida,” 302–3; Hann, *Native American World*, 67; Galloway, *Indian Slave Trade*, 144–45; La Harpe, “Historical Journal,” 29; Boyd, Smith, and Griffin, *Here They Once Stood*, 48–95.
- 34 Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 79–81; Worth, *Timucuan Chiefdoms*, 145–46; Hann, *Apalachee*, 234–35; Milanich, *Florida Indians*, 225–27; Covington, “Some Observations,” 10–18; Galloway, *Indian Slave Trade*, 147–48; Boyd, Smith, and Griffin, *Here They Once Stood*, 42–95, 90; Pénicaut, *Fleur de Lys*, 102–3; La Harpe, “Historical Journal,” 29.
- 35 Thomas Nairne to Lords Proprietors, “Letter Regarding the Indians of Carolina, July 10, 1708,” in Sainsbury, *Records in the British Public Records Office*, 7:193–202; Nairne, *Nairne’s Muskogean Journals*, 75; Worth, *Timucuan Chiefdoms*, 2:147–48; Worth, “Razing Florida,” 303–6; Milanich, *Florida Indians*, 228–31; Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 81. On how the Apalachees understood these raids and captivity, see Baszile, “Apalachee Testimony in Florida.” A fictional account of an Apalachee woman taken to Carolina as a slave is Joyce Hudson, *Apalachee*.
- 36 Pénicaut, *Fleur de Lys*, 63–65; La Harpe, “Historical Journal,” 29, 30; Nairne, *Nairne’s Muskogean Journals*, 76; Salley, *Journal of the Commons House of Assembly*, January 14, April 2, and August 20, 1702, and April 17, 1703 (quote); Shuck-Hall, *Journey to the West*, 44–45; Galloway, *Indian Slave Trade*, 137, 140–41. Higginbotham, in *Old Mobile*, 120–21 and 124–25, presents the most thorough accounting of the betrayal of Bienville; he lists two survivors. Pénicaut, in *Fleur de Lys*, 65, relates that only one survived. Contrary to what I present, Ramsey, in *The Yamasee War*, 135, states that the English failed to mobilize their allies against the French.
- 37 Pénicaut, *Fleur de Lys*, 65–67. La Harpe, “Historical Journal,” 30, puts the number of soldiers at seventy, but it is unclear whether or not he counted the Indian allies in his tally. Bienville to Pontchartrain, September 6, 1704, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 3:19–21; Shuck-Hall, *Journey to the West*, 46–47; Higginbotham, *Old Mobile*, 125–28; Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 82.
- 38 Bienville to Pontchartrain, September 6, 1704, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 3:19–21; Pénicaut, *Fleur de Lys*, 66–67; La Harpe, “Historical Journal,” 30; Higginbotham, *Old Mobile*, 128–30; Shuck-Hall, *Journey to the West*, 47.
- 39 Bienville to Pontchartrain, September 6, 1704, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 3:22.
- 40 Memoir on Louisiana by Bienville, 1726, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 3:537.

- 41 Shuck-Hall, *Journey to the West*, 46; Pénicaut, *Fleur de Lys*, 69 (quote), 123.
- 42 La Harpe, "Historical Journal," 31.
- 43 Pénicaut, *Fleur de Lys*, 73; La Harpe, "Historical Journal," 32 (quote), 33; La Harpe puts the number of Chickasaws at seventy.
- 44 Pénicaut, *Fleur de Lys*, 73 (quote), 78. La Harpe, "Historical Journal," 33, tells a slightly different version that does not include Saint-Michel. In La Harpe's telling, the Choc-taws ambush the Chickasaws while they were gathered in the town plaza, killing several and accidentally wounding Boisbriant.
- 45 Gallay, *Indian Slave Trade*, 138–39 (quote on 138); Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 86; Oatis, *A Colonial Complex*, 56; AC C13, A2, folios 95, 407; Pénicaut, *Fleur de Lys*, 98, 102–3; Bienville to Pontchartrain, September 6, 1704, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 3:26–27; Bienville to Pontchartrain, July 28, 1708, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 2:25; Waselkov and Gums, *Plantation Archaeology*, 26–27.
- 46 Bienville to Pontchartrain, September 6, 1704, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 3:26.
- 47 Goddard, Galloway, Jeter, Waselkov, and Worth, "Small Tribes," 190; Galloway, "Chakchiuma," 497; Bienville to Pontchartrain, February 25, 1708, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 3:113; Memoire of Bienville, Toward 1725 [1726], in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 3:531.
- 48 Le Page du Pratz, *History of Louisiana*, 313; Swanton, *Indian Tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley*, 334–36; Goddard, Galloway, Jeter, Waselkov, and Worth, "Small Tribes," 188.
- 49 Usner, *American Indians*, 46; La Harpe, "Historical Journal," 34–35; Salley, *Journal of the Commons House of Assembly*, November 6, 1707; AC C13, A1, folio 509; Mémoire de Bienville, 1726, AC C13, C1, folios 363–63v, 370–70v; Pénicaut, *Fleur de Lys*, 129; Higginbotham, *Old Mobile*, 289; Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 85–86; Brain, Roth, and de Reuse, "Tunica, Biloxi, and Ofo," 587; Brightman, "Chitimacha," 649; Ian W. Brown, "Historic Indians of the Lower Mississippi Valley," 227, 234. Stephen Williams, in "The Vacant Quarter Hypothesis and the Yazoo Delta," 198, suspects that some Ofos moved with the Tunicas at this time and eventually became absorbed into the Tunicas.
- 50 La Harpe, "Historical Journal," 32 (quote); Pénicaut, *Fleur de Lys*, 98–99; Bienville to Pontchartrain, September 6, 1702, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives* 3:22–23 (quote on 23); Higginbotham, *Old Mobile*, 101–2; DuVal, "A Good Relationship," 78; Kidder, "The Koroa Indians," 6–7; Swanton, *Indian Tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley*, 331.
- 51 Pénicaut, *Fleur de Lys*, 70–71; La Harpe, "Historical Journal," 35–36; Bienville to Pontchartrain, February 20, 1707, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 3:38; Bienville to Pontchartrain, February 25, 1708, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 3:113; Higginbotham, *Old Mobile*, 289–90, 291–92; Waselkov and Gums, *Plantation Archaeology*, 35; Brightman, "Chitimacha," 643, 649.
- 52 Waselkov and Gums, *Plantation Archaeology*, 24–25, 26; Brain, Roth, and de Reuse, "Tunica, Ofo, and Biloxi," 593; Pénicaut, *Fleur de Lys*, 100; Usner, *American Indians*, 45; Goddard, Galloway, Jeter, Waselkov, and Worth, "Small Tribes," 177–78; Waselkov and Gums, *Plantation Archaeology*, 23–26.
- 53 La Harpe, "Historical Journal," 34–35; Salley, *Journal of the Commons House of Assembly*, November 6, 1707; AC C13, A1, folio 509; Bienville to Pontchartrain, April 10, 1706, in

- Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 3:34 (quote); Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 85–86.
- 54 Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 85–86; quoted in *ibid.*, 85.
  - 55 La Harpe, “Historical Journal,” 35; Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 87–88; Galloway, *Indian Slave Trade*, 137–40, 149–50, 151–53.
  - 56 Salley, *Journal of the Commons House of Assembly*, October 23, 28, and November 1, 22, 1707; Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 89; Galloway, *Indian Slave Trade*, 153–54.
  - 57 Bienville to Pontchartrain, February 25, 1708, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 3:113–15 (quote on 113); Memoir on Louisiana by Bienville, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 3:535; Bienville to Pontchartrain, October 12, 1708, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 2:39, 41; Abstract of Letter from Bienville to Pontchartrain, July 28, 1706, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 2:25 (quote); Higginbotham, *Old Mobile*, 307–13, 358; Waselkov and Gums, *Plantation Archaeology*, 23, 27; Waselkov, “Indian Maps,” 319.
  - 58 Alexander Moore, “Introduction,” 12–13; Galloway, *Indian Slave Trade*, 164–68; Ramsey, *The Yamasee War*, 79–84.
  - 59 Nairne, *Nairne’s Muskogean Journals*, 73–79; Bienville to Pontchartrain, October 12, 1708, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 39; Crane, “The Tennessee River,” 17; Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 90; Alexander Moore, “Thomas Nairne’s 1708 Western Expedition”; Galloway, *Indian Slave Trade*, 164–68.
  - 60 Bienville to Pontchartrain, July 28, 1706, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 2:24, 25; Bienville to Pontchartrain, February 25, 1708, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 3:113; King Louis XIV to de Muy, June 30, 1707, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 3:52, 55; Bienville to Pontchartrain, February 20, 1707, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 3:36; Gibson, *The Chickasaws*, 37.
  - 61 Iberville, *Iberville’s Gulf Journals*, 108, 119, 133, 175–76; Nairne, *Nairne’s Muskogean Journals*, 50. As early as 1971, Gibson, in *The Chickasaws*, 37, challenged the idea that the Chickasaws were faithful Anglophiles when he noted the emergence of a strong pro-French Chickasaw faction just after the French established Fort Louis and Mobile. In 1996 Galloway, through a close reading of the French documents pertaining to the Chickasaw Wars of the 1730s, suggested that the Chickasaws took advantage of some indigenous, internal factionalism to play the English against the French and vice versa; see Galloway, “Ougoula Tchetoka.” Jay K. Johnson, in “Stone Tools,” also corroborates this factionalism. Most recently, this factionalism is demonstrated in Johnson, O’Hear, Ethridge, Lieb, Scott, Jackson, and Jacobi, “Measuring Chickasaw Adaptation”; and in St. Jean, “Trading Paths.”
  - 62 Nairne, *Nairne’s Muskogean Journals*, 63 (quote); Jay K. Johnson, “Stone Tools,” 15–30; Jesse D. Jennings, “Chickasaw and Earlier Indian Cultures”; Jay K. Johnson, “The Chickasaws,” 91 (Figure 4.1), 98–99; Johnson, O’Hear, Ethridge, Lieb, Scot, Jackson, and Jacobi, “Measuring Chickasaw Adaptation”; Ethridge, “Making of a Militaristic Slaving Society”; Atkinson, “The Ackia and Ogoula Tchetoka Chickasaw”; Cegielski, “A GIS-Based Analysis of Chickasaw Settlement,” 72–85; Cegielski and Lieb, “Hina’Fala, ‘The Long Path.’” For a contrary view, see Green, “The Red and the White.”
  - 63 Knight, “Institutional Organization”; Knight, “Symbolism of Mississippian Mounds.”
  - 64 Nairne, *Nairne’s Muskogean Journals*, 36–43.
  - 65 Swanton, *Social and Religious Beliefs*, 196. Schoolcraft also reported that the principal



- chief was always chosen from the Minko clan, and it was an inherited position through the female line; see Swanton, *Social and Religious Beliefs*, 191–92, 197.
- 66 What Swanton reported in the twentieth century did not necessarily exist in exactly the same way in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; however, anthropologists understand kinship to be a structure of the *longue durée*, and I therefore cannot dismiss the possibility that some of the twentieth-century system retained elements from the previous 200 years.
  - 67 Swanton, *Social and Religious Beliefs*, 190–99, 211.
  - 68 Ibid., 195. Swanton also reports that his colleague Frank Speck identified two Chickasaw moieties—Imosaktca'n "their hickory chopping," and Intcukwalpa "their worn out place." According to Swanton, Speck further recorded the clans of each moiety, and he noted that the Imosaktca'n were "warriors inhabiting substantial lodges, while the latter [the Intcukwalpa] were known as inferior people who lived mostly under trees in the woods"; Swanton, *Social and Religious Beliefs*, 190–95.
  - 69 For a discussion of clan uncles among the Choctaws, see Galloway, "The Chief Who Is Your Father."
  - 70 Swanton, *Social and Religious Beliefs*, 196–98, 214, 215.
  - 71 Moore notes that Nairne's list probably also includes some Ochese Creek and Tallapoosa clans; see Nairne, *Nairne's Muskogean Journals*, 60, 69 n. 19.
  - 72 This dualism in Indian leadership may account for much confusion regarding Indian affairs among scholars. For instance, in his recent book on the Chickasaws, Atkinson, in *Splendid Land*, 26–27, fails to recognize the significance of the red/white moieties and the ranked clans. He mistakenly attributes a single chief to the Chickasaws and misidentifies the peace chief as being this "great chief," charged with keeping peace. He attributes the Chickasaws' engagement in warfare as deriving from an "incongruous attitude among the Chickasaw with regard to war and peace." For a more general discussion of the confusion in the historical documents, see Shoemaker, "How Indians Got to Be Red."
  - 73 Nairne, *Nairne's Muskogean Journals*, 38. In the early twentieth century, Speck recorded that his Chickasaw informants retained some notion of moiety ranking; in this case, the moiety associated with warfare ranked higher than the one associated with peace. Swanton merely states that moiety ranking was probably remembered from some ancient social organization; see Swanton, *Social and Religious Beliefs*, 192, 196.
  - 74 For a discussion on the roles of the red and white moieties, see Lankford, *Looking for Lost Lore*, 73–97; and Galloway, "Dual Organization Reconsidered."
  - 75 Nairne, *Nairne's Muskogean Journals*, 43.
  - 76 Ibid., 47.
  - 77 The price of an Indian slave fluctuated over the years and also by country. In a careful examination of the documentary evidence, Galloway tracks the changing prices over time, and he also concludes that the English could pay the best price for Indian slaves; Galloway, *Indian Slave Trade*, 311–14.
  - 78 Galloway, "Henri de Tonti," 159.
  - 79 Boyd, Smith, and Griffin, *Here They Once Stood*, 49, 93–94; Le Page du Pratz, *History of Louisiana*, 305, 310, 350; Galloway, "Henri de Tonti," 159; Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 171–75; Tonti, "Extract," 169.
  - 80 Alan Galloway (personal communication, 2007) believes that this could help account for the endemic warfare between the Choctaws and Chickasaws and why the Choctaws

- continually spoiled French efforts to make peace between the two. For discussions of the principles of blood revenge and retaliation, see Hudson, *The Southeastern Indians*, 239–44; and Perdue, *Cherokee Women*, 86–108. For a thorough discussion of the principles of blood revenge and retaliation among the Cherokees, see Reid, *A Law of Blood*.
- 81 Nairne, *Nairne's Muskogean Journals*, 56–58.
  - 82 Ibid., 38; Galloway, “Dual Organization Reconsidered,” 365–67, 370–71; Lankford, *Looking for Lost Lore*, 74–79.
  - 83 Nairne, *Nairne's Muskogean Journals*, 38.
  - 84 For a discussion of the fanimingo institution, see Galloway, “The Chief Who Is Your Father.”
  - 85 Joshua Piker, in *Okfuskee*, offers a detailed look at how the people of the Creek white town of Okfuskee used the *fanimingo* to establish a particular kind of relationship with the British during the early eighteenth century. The red/white duality as a southern Indian institution for regulating international affairs is also documented by Gleach in *Powhatan's World*. Gleach argues that John Smith's captivity by the Powhatans was a diplomatic ritual of adoption by which the Powhatans adopted the colony into the chiefdom; he also understands this external/internal diplomacy to fall along war and peace lines. Shoemaker, in “How Indians Got to Be Red,” argues that the references to “red” and “white” by Southern Indians were the language of diplomacy and international affairs and not of racial categorization.
  - 86 Nairne, *Nairne's Muskogean Journals*, 40.
  - 87 Johnson, O'Hear, Ethridge, Lieb, Scott, Jackson, and Jacobi, “Measuring Chickasaw Adaptations,” 11, 24–25. While correlating a ceramic type with a known Historic Period Indian group is difficult, this line of evidence should be explored as a possible archaeological signature for the *fanimingo* as a mechanism for coalescence.
  - 88 Nairne, *Nairne's Muskogean Journals*, 56–58.
  - 89 Ibid., 38.
  - 90 Ibid., 41.
  - 91 Ethridge, “Making of a Militaristic Slaving Society,” 263–67; Galloway, “Ougoula Tcheto-  
toka”; Jay K. Johnson, “Stone Tools”; Johnson, O'Hear, Ethridge, Lieb, Scott, Jackson, and Jacobi, “Measuring Chickasaw Adaptation.”
  - 92 Bienville to Maurepas, July 6, 1733, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 1:210; Bienville to Maurepas, April 23, 1734, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 1:236; Bienville to Maurepas, April 14, 1735, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 1:256; Bienville and Salmon to Maurepas, February 3, 1736, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 1:275; Bienville to Maurepas, March 15, 1734, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 3:635; Bienville to Maurepas, September 30, 1741, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 3:755; Bienville to Maurepas, March 26, 1742, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 3:764; Ory to Périer, November 1, 1730, in Rowland, Sanders, and Galloway, *Mississippi Provincial Archives* 4:47; Périer to Ory, November 15, 1730, in Rowland, Sanders, and Galloway, *Mississippi Provincial Archives* 4:53, 55; Diron d'Artaguet to Maurepas, October 24, 1737, in Rowland, Sanders, and Galloway, *Mississippi Provincial Archives* 4:147, 149, 151. Galloway, in “Ougoula Tcheto-  
toka,” 6, first noted that the Natchez question could reveal much about partisan lines among the Chickasaws.

- 1 Hahn, *Invention of the Creek Nation*, 69; Bienville to Pontchartrain, October 12, 1708, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 2:39; Nairne, *Nairne's Muskogean Journals*, 51, 74. Bienville lists the "Torinants," and Rowland and Sanders, in *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 2:39 (fn 3), note that Torinants as recorded by Bienville may refer to either the Tunica or to Tourima, a town of the Quapaws. Since the Tunica had left the Yazoo Basin by the time of Nairne's visit, I understand Torinants to refer to Tourima; see also Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 90. Also, the maps from Nairne's journey do not indicate the exact terminus of Welch's trip; he may have had his council at the Quapaw towns on the Mississippi. See Nairne, "A Map of South Carolina"; and Mitchell, "A Map of the British and French Dominions."
- 2 Nairne, *Nairne's Muskogean Journals*, 74; Bienville to Pontchartrain, October 12, 1708, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 2:39–40; DuVal, "A Good Relationship," 79.
- 3 Bienville to Pontchartrain, February 25, 1708, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 3:113; Bienville to Pontchartrain, October 12, 1708, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 2:38–39; D'Artaguetto to Pontchartrain, August 18, 1708, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 2:33–34; D'Artaguetto to Pontchartrain, August 18, 1708, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 2:56–57; Bienville to Pontchartrain, October 27, 1711, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 3:159; Memoire of d'Artaguetto to Pontchartrain, May 12, 1712, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 2:64.
- 4 La Harpe, "Historical Journal," 43; Salley, *Journal of the Commons House of Assembly*, December 16, 1714; Cadillac to the Governor of South Carolina, March 20, July 14, 1714, AC C13A, 3, folios 489–92; Cadillac to the Minister, September 18, 1714, AC C13A, folios 518–22; Pénicaut, *Fleur de Lys*, 206; Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 104.
- 5 La Harpe, "Historical Journal," 43; Pénicaut, *Fleur de Lys*, 159; Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 102–3; Oatis, *A Colonial Complex*, 96. Waselkov and Gums, in *Plantation Archaeology*, 19, understand the killing of Hughes to implicate the Tohomés as coconspirators in the Yamasee War.
- 6 Pénicaut, *Fleur de Lys*, 159; Le Page du Pratz, *History of Louisiana*, 305, 318–19; McDowell, *Journals of the Commissioners*, 32, 33, 77, 129, 168; Bienville to Pontchartrain, October 12, 1708, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 2:39; Duclos to Pontchartrain, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 2:75; Lamothe Cadillac to Pontchartrain, October 1713, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 2:185; La Vere, *Caddo Chiefdoms*, 77.
- 7 Pénicaut, *Fleur de Lys*, 130; La Salle to Minister, extract from May 12, 1709, AC C13A, 2, folio 439–40; La Salle to Minister, May 12, 1709, AC C13A, 2, folios 395–96; D'Artaguetto to Minister, May 11, 1709, AC C13A, 2, folios 462–65; Higginbotham, *Old Mobile*, 383–85.
- 8 Oatis, *A Colonial Complex*, 60, 77, 122; Worth, "Razing Florida"; Merrell, "'Their Very Bones Shall Fight,'" 118–24; Perdue, "Cherokee Relations with the Iroquois," 137–38; Boyce, "'As the Wind Scatters the Smoke,'" 153; Richter, *Ordeal of the Longhouse*, 237–38; Nairne, *Nairne's Muskogean Journals*, 76–77.
- 9 Dye, "Warfare in the Protohistoric Southeast," 137–38; Nairne, *Nairne's Muskogean Journals*, 36, 43; Iberville, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 174; Boyd, Smith, and Griffin, *Here They Once Stood*, 15, 37, 50, 53, 90, 92; Worth, *Struggle for the Georgia Coast*, 15; Le Page du Pratz, *History of Louisiana*, 305. There are numerous references to the Indian slave

- trade in McDowell, *Journals of the Commissioners*; see also Le Page du Pratz, *History of Louisiana*, 310, 319; Iberville, *Gulf Journals*, 171–75; and Tonti, “Extract.” The use of both guerrilla tactics and full-scale military movements was also typical of Mississippian warfare; see Dye, “Warfare in the Protohistoric Southeast,” 131–35.
- 10 Boyd, Smith, and Griffin, *Here They Once Stood*, 90. See also Worth, “Razing Florida”; and Kelton, “Shattered and Infected.” By way of comparison, historic demographers estimate the number of South American Indians enslaved in the late sixteenth century to have been over half a million. See Alchon, *A Pest in the Land*, 136–38.
  - 11 Galloway, *Indian Slave Trade*, 298–99.
  - 12 Lauber, *Indian Slavery*, 63–118; Alchon, *A Pest in the Land*, 138–39. In addition, French traders sold many midwestern Indians to Carolina traders. See Brett Rushforth, “A Little Flesh We Offer You.”
  - 13 Peter H. Wood, “Changing Population,” 38–39.
  - 14 For discussions on fertility rates and the implications for population recovery, see Stannard, “Disease and Infertility”; and Thornton, Miller, and Warren, “American Indian Population Recovery.”
  - 15 Kelton, *Epidemics and Enslavement*; Kelton, “Shattered and Infected”; Worth, “Razing Florida”; Ethridge, “Introduction: Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone”; Ramsey, “All and Singular the Slaves,” 177; Ramsey, *The Yamasee War*, 35–53.
  - 16 McDowell, *Journals of the Commissioners*, contains many instances of complaints about the traders; Oatis, *A Colonial Complex*, 98–99. For a detailed analysis of the Indian side of the story, see Ramsey, *The Yamasee War*.
  - 17 On some of the processes identified in coalescence, see Hahn, “‘They Look upon the Yuchis’”; Shuck-Hall, “Alabama and Coushatta Diaspora”; Milne, “Picking up the Pieces”; Johnson, O’Hear, Ethridge, Lieb, Scott, Jackson, and Jacobi, “Measuring Chickasaw Adaptations.”
  - 18 Kelton, *Epidemics and Enslavement*, 203–4, 210–11; Kelton, “Shattered and Infected,” 324–28; Bossy, “Indian Slavery,” 222–23. Ramsey, in *The Yamasee War*, 43–50, demonstrates the confusing legalities between freedom and slavery for Carolina Indian slaves. See also Snyder, *Slavery in Indian Country*, for a detailed analysis of the changing definitions of captive, slave, and free among Southern Indians during the Historic Period.
  - 19 Kelton, *Epidemics and Enslavement*, 212–15; Oatis, *A Colonial Complex*, 118–19; Galloway, *Indian Slave Trade*, 322–27; Ramsey, “‘All and Singular the Slaves’”; Waselkov and Gums, *Plantation Archaeology*, 35; Bienville to Pontchartrain, October 27, 1711, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 3:159; Duclos to Pontchartrain, October 25, 1713, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 2:81; Nairne, *Nairne’s Muskogean Journals*, 37; Bienville to Pontchartrain, August 12, 1709, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 3:133. For recent discussions on the Chestowee raid, see Riggs, “Reconsidering Chestowee”; and Ramsey, *The Yamasee War*, 83–87.
  - 20 Oatis, *A Colonial Complex*, 84; Kelton, *Epidemics and Enslavement*, 166–65.
  - 21 Oatis, *A Colonial Complex*, 88–90; Kelton, *Epidemics and Enslavement*, 167; Merrell, *Indians’ New World*, 40, 54, 118; Richter, *Ordeal of the Longhouse*, 238; Boyce, “‘As the Wind Scatters the Smoke,’” 154–55.
  - 22 Kelton, *Epidemics and Enslavement*, 202; La Harpe, “Historical Journal,” 44; Oatis, *A Colonial Complex*, 127–28.
  - 23 Ramsey, *The Yamasee War*, 101–56; Oatis, *A Colonial Complex*, 125–26; Merrell, *Indians’ New World*, 78–79; Hahn, *Invention of the Creek Nation*, 81–87; Galloway, *Indian Slave*

- Trade*, 329–35; La Harpe, “Historical Journal,” 44; Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 105. Oatis, in *A Colonial Complex*, 129–31, convincingly argues that the French and Spanish had nothing to do with the war.
- 24 Ramsey, *The Yamasee War*, 150–55; Galloway, *Indian Slave Trade*, 335–38; Oatis, *A Colonial Complex*, 141; Merrell, *Indians’ New World*, 79.
  - 25 Galloway, *Indian Slave Trade*, 51–52, 149; Worth, “Yamasee,” 249; Waselkov and Gums, *Plantation Archaeology*, 29–30; Warren and Noe, “The Greatest Travelers in America,” 174–75.
  - 26 Worth, “Lower Creeks,” 286–91; Waselkov and Smith, “Upper Creek Archaeology,” 244, 247, 249, 252–53, 256; Smith, *Coosa*, 116–17; Knight, “Formation of the Creeks,” 384; Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 26–31. See Hahn, *Invention of the Creek Nation*, for the Creeks’ “doctrine of neutrality,” and Ramsey, *The Yamasee War*, 197–217, for a counter view.
  - 27 Davis, “Cultural Landscape,” 153–54; Waselkov, “Indian Maps,” 320–24; Rudes, Blumer, and May, “Catawba,” 302 (Figure 1), 308–10.
  - 28 Schroedl, “Cherokee Ethnohistory,” 214.
  - 29 Waselkov and Gums, *Plantation Archaeology*, 25; Cegielski, “A GIS-Based Analysis of Chickasaw Settlement,” 72–85; Cegielski and Lieb, “Hina’Falaa, ‘The Long Path’”; Adair, *History of the American Indians*.
  - 30 Goddard, Galloway, Jeter, Waselkov, and Worth, “Small Tribes,” 185, 189; Brightman, “Chitimacha,” 649; Waselkov and Gums, *Plantation Archaeology*, 25, 26, 35; Campisi, “Houma,” 633–34, 636; Swanton, *Indian Tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley*.
  - 31 Waselkov and Gums, *Plantation Archaeology*, 23, 29, 31.
  - 32 *Ibid.*, 9, 17, 19; Lankford, “Chacato,” 667–68.
  - 33 Galloway, “Chakchiuma,” 496; Brain, “Late Prehistory,” 361; Brain, Roth, and Reuse, “Tunica, Biloxi, Ofo,” 588.
  - 34 Kidder, “The Koroa Indians,” 7; Swanton, *Indian Tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley*, 331–32, 336; Swanton, *Indians of the Southeastern United States*, 46, 195–95; Goddard, Galloway, Jeter, Waselkov, and Worth, “Small Tribes,” 179; Waselkov and Gums, *Plantation Archaeology*, 33–34.
  - 35 Atkinson, *Splendid Land*, 18, 21, 43–61; Le Page du Pratz, *History of Louisiana*, 315. For a detailed investigation of the Natchez experience among the Chickasaws, see Lieb, “The Grand Village Is Silent.”
  - 36 Galloway, *The Indian Slave Trade*, 51–52.
  - 37 The low country Indians and the Gulf coast Indians, more than any other groups in the interior South, may resemble Richard White’s famous “middle ground.” White, *Middle Ground*, 50–60. Patrick Livingood recently suggested that one reason why the Gulf coast groups did not coalesce may lay in the Plaquemine roots of these groups and the tendency of the Plaquemine chiefdoms of the lower Mississippi Valley to value competition and isolation over alliance building; see Livingood, “Theories to Explain the Lack of Confederation.”
  - 38 Worth, “Spanish Missions,” 51–52.
  - 39 Hickerson, “Historical Processes”; Perttula, “Social Changes.”
  - 40 Merrell, *Indians’ New World*, 92–133; Hudson and Ethridge, “Early Historic Transformations,” 40–46. Worth, in “Spanish Missions,” 52, calls this “confederation,” but the definition is similar enough to “coalescence” to lump them together for now. As these responses become clearer, finer distinctions, no doubt, will be made between them. In a broad cross-cultural comparison, Kowalewski, in “Coalescent Societies,” concludes that

“coalescence” is a widespread response to social stresses, and therefore coalescent societies are not necessarily a social type but the result of people responding in a particular way as a social system facing instability breaks apart.

41 Perttula, “Social Changes,” 257–69; Hickerson, “Historical Processes.”

42 Worth, “Yamasee”; Merrell, *Indians' New World*, 92–122; Fitts and Heath, ““Indians Refusing to Carry Burdens””; Beck, “Catawba Coalescence.” Perttula, in “Social Changes,” 257–60, and Knight, in “Formation of the Creeks,” were the first to notice the chiefdom political basis for coalescence.

*This page intentionally left blank*

## Bibliography

### ARCHIVAL SOURCES

Aix-en-Provence, France

Archives Nationales de France, Archives Nationales d'Outre Mer

Archives des Colonies, Séries C11, Correspondence à l'arrivée, Canada

Archives des Colonies, Séries C13, Correspondence à l'arrivée, Louisiane

Archives des Colonies, Séries F, Mélanges, Sous-séries F3/290, Collection  
Moreau de Saint-Méry

Paris, France

Archives du Ministère de la Marine, Séries JJ, Archives du Service Hydrographique

### PUBLISHED WORKS

Abler, Thomas S. "Beavers and Muskets: Iroquois Military Fortunes in the Face of European Colonization." In *War in the Tribal Zone: Expanding States and Indigenous Warfare*, 2nd ed., edited by R. Brian Ferguson and Neil L. Whitehead, 158–68. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1999.

Adair, James. *The History of the American Indians*. 1775. Edited by Kathryn E. Holland Braund. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005.

Alchon, Suzanne Austin. *A Pest in the Land: New World Epidemics in a Global Perspective*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003.

Alt, Susan M. "Unwilling Immigrants: Culture, Change, and the 'Other' in Mississippian Societies." In *Invisible Citizens: Captives and Their Consequences*, edited by Catherine M. Cameron, 205–22. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2008.

Ambrose, Stanley H., Jane Buikstra, and Harold Krueger. "Status and Gender Differences in Diet at Mound 72, Cahokia, Revealed by Isotopic Analysis of Bone." *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 22, no. 3 (2003): 217–27.

Anderson, David G. *Savannah River Chiefdoms: Political Change in the Late Prehistoric Southeast*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1994.

Ashe, John. "The Present State of Affairs in Carolina, by John Ash, 1706." In *Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650–1708*, edited by Alexander S. Salley Jr., 135–60. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911.



- Atkinson, Jim. "The Ackia and Ogoula Tchetoka Chickasaw Village Locations in 1736 during the French-Chickasaw War." *Mississippi Archaeology* 20, no. 1 (1985): 53–72.
- . "The De Soto Expedition through North Mississippi in 1540–41." *Mississippi Archaeology* 22, no. 1 (1987): 61–76.
- . "Historic Chickasaw Cultural Material: A More Comprehensive Identification." *Mississippi Archaeology* 22 (1987): 32–62.
- . *Splendid Land, Splendid People: The Chickasaw Indians to Removal*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004.
- Baker, Brenda J., and Lisa Kealhofer, eds. *Bioarchaeology of Native American Adaptation in the Spanish Borderlands*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996.
- Bandera, Juan de la. "The 'Long' Bandera Relation." In *The Juan Pardo Expeditions: Exploration of the Carolinas and Tennessee, 1566–1568*, edited by Charles Hudson, 205–96. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1990.
- Barnett, James, Jr. *The Natchez Indians: A History to 1735*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2007.
- Barr, Juliana. "From Captives to Slaves: Commodifying Indian Women in the Borderlands." *Journal of American History* 92, no. 1 (2005): 19–46.
- Baszile, Jennifer. "Apalachee Testimony in Florida: A View of Slavery from the Spanish Archives." In *Indian Slavery in Colonial America*, edited by Alan Galloway, 185–206. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009.
- Beck, Robin A., Jr. "Catawba Coalescence and the Shattering of the Carolina Piedmont, 1540–1675." In *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South*, edited by Robbie Ethridge and Sheri M. Shuck-Hall, 115–41. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009.
- . "Consolidation and Hierarchy: Chiefdom Variability in the Mississippian Southeast." *American Antiquity* 68, no. 4 (2003): 641–61.
- Bense, Judith A. *Archaeology of the Southeastern United States: Paleoindian to World War I*. San Diego: Academic Press, 1994.
- . *Presidio Santa María de Galve: A Struggle for Survival in Colonial Spanish Pensacola*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003.
- Betts, Colin M. "Pots and Pox: The Identification of Protohistoric Epidemics in the Upper Mississippi Valley." *American Antiquity* 71 (2006): 233–59.
- Biedma, Luys Hernández de. "Relation of the Island of Florida." In *The De Soto Chronicles: The Expedition of Hernando de Soto to North America in 1539–1543*, vol. 1, edited by Lawrence A. Clayton, Vernon J. Knight Jr., and Edward C. Moore and translated by John E. Worth, 221–46. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1993.
- Blackhawk, Ned. *Violence over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006.
- Bland, John. "The Discovery of New Brittain, 1650." In *Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650–1708*, edited by Alexander S. Salley Jr., 1–20. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911.
- Blanton, Dennis, and Frankie Snow. "Early Sixteenth-Century Spanish Activity on the Lower Ocmulgee River, Georgia: New Findings and New Questions." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southeastern Archaeological Conference, Mobile, Alabama, November 4–7, 2009.
- Blitz, John H. *Ancient Chiefdoms of the Tombigbee*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1993.

- . “Mississippian Chiefdoms and the Fusion-Fission Process.” *American Antiquity* 64, no. 4 (1999): 577–92.
- Blitz, John H., and Patrick C. Livingood. “Sociopolitical Implications of Mississippian Mound Volume.” *American Antiquity* 69, no. 2 (2004): 291–301.
- Blitz, John H., and Karl G. Lorenz. *The Chattahoochee Chiefdoms*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2006.
- . “The Early Mississippian Frontier in the Lower Chattahoochee-Apalachicola River Valley.” *Southeastern Archaeology* 21, no. 2 (2002): 117–35.
- Blitz, John H., and C. Baxter Mann. *Fisherfolk, Farmers, and Frenchmen: Archaeological Explorations on the Mississippi Gulf Coast*. Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Archaeological Report Series, no. 30. Jackson, 2000.
- Blitz, John H., C. B. Mann, and R. L. Bellande. “Fort Maurepas and Vieux Biloxi: Search and Research.” *Mississippi Archaeology* 30, no. 1 (1995): 23–58.
- Bossy, Denise L. “Indian Slavery in Southeastern Indian and British Societies, 1670–1730.” In *Indian Slavery in Colonial America*, edited by Alan Galloway, 207–50. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009.
- Bowne, Eric. “‘Caryinge awaye their Corne and Children’: The Effects of Westo Slave Raids on the Indians of the Lower South.” In *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South*, edited by Robbie Ethridge and Sheri M. Shuck-Hall, 104–14. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009.
- . “The Rise and Fall of the Westo Indians: An Evaluation of the Documentary Evidence.” *Early Georgia* 28, no. 1 (2000): 56–78.
- . *The Westo Indians: Slave Traders of the Early Colonial South*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005.
- Boyce, Douglas W. “‘As the Wind Scatters the Smoke’: The Tuscaroras in the Eighteenth Century.” In *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600–1800*, edited by Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell, 151–64. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003.
- Boyd, Mark F., ed. and trans. “The Expedition of Marcos Delgado from Apalachee to the Upper Creek Country in 1686.” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 16 (1936): 1–32.
- Boyd, Mark F., Hale G. Smith, and John W. Griffin. *Here They Once Stood: The Tragic End of the Apalachee Missions*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1951.
- Brain, Jeffrey P. “La Salle at Natchez: An Archaeological and Historical Perspective.” In *La Salle and His Legacy: Frenchman and Indians in the Lower Mississippi Valley*, edited by Patricia K. Galloway, 49–59. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1982.
- . “Late Prehistoric Settlement Patterning in the Yazoo Basin and Natchez Bluffs Regions of the Lower Mississippi Valley.” In *Mississippian Settlement Patterns*, edited by Bruce D. Smith, 331–68. New York: Academic Press, 1978.
- . *Tunica Archaeology*. Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 78. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988.
- Brain, Jeffrey P., George Roth, and Willem J. de Reuse. “Tunica, Biloxi, and Ofo.” In *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 14, *Southeast*, edited by Raymond D. Fogelson, 568–97. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 2004.
- Braley, Chad O. “Yuchi Town (1Ru63) Revisited: Analysis of the 1958–1962 Excavations.” Report submitted to Environmental Management Division, Directorate of Public Works, U.S. Army Infantry Center, Fort Benning, Georgia, by Southeastern Archaeological Service, Athens, Georgia, 1998.

- Briceland, Alan Vance. *Westward from Virginia: The Exploration of the Virginia-Carolina Frontier, 1650–1710*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1987.
- Brightman, Robert A. "Chitimacha." In *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 14, *Southeast*, edited by Raymond D. Fogelson, 642–52. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 2004.
- Brightman, Robert A., and Pamela S. Wallace. "Chickasaw." In *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 14, *Southeast*, edited by Raymond D. Fogelson, 478–95. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 2004.
- Brose, David A. "Forward." In *Bottle Creek: A Pensacola Culture Site in South Alabama*, edited by Ian W. Brown, xvii–xxiii. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003.
- Brown, Ian W. "An Archaeological Study of Culture Contact and Change in the Natchez Bluffs Region." In *La Salle and His Legacy: Frenchmen and Indians in the Lower Mississippi Valley*, edited by Patricia Galloway, 49–59. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1982.
- . "The Calumet Ceremony in the Southeast and Its Archaeological Manifestations." *American Antiquity* 54, no. 2 (1989): 311–31.
- . "Historic Indians of the Lower Mississippi Valley: An Archaeologist's View." In *Towns and Temples along the Mississippi*, edited by David H. Dye and Cheryl Ann Cox, 176–93. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1990.
- . "Introduction." In *Bottle Creek: A Pensacola Culture Site in South Alabama*, edited by Ian W. Brown, 1–26. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003.
- . "Plaquemine Culture in the Natchez Bluffs Region of Mississippi." In *Plaquemine Archaeology*, edited by Mark A. Rees and Patrick C. Livingood, 145–60. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2007.
- , ed. *Bottle Creek: A Pensacola Culture Site in South Alabama*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003.
- Brown, James A. "The Cahokian Expression: Creating Court and Cult." In *Hero, Hawk, and Open Hand: American Indian Art of the Ancient Midwest and South*, edited by Richard F. Townsend and Robert V. Sharp, 105–24. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press for the Art Institute of Chicago, 2004.
- . "On the Identity of the Birdman within Mississippian Period Art and Iconography." In *Ancient Objects and Sacred Realms: Interpretations of Mississippian Iconography*, edited by F. Kent Reilly III and James F. Garber, 56–106. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007.
- . "Sequencing the Braden Style within Mississippian Period Art and Iconography." In *Ancient Objects and Sacred Realms: Interpretations of Mississippian Iconography*, edited by F. Kent Reilly III and James F. Garber, 213–45. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007.
- . "Where's the Power in Mound Building? An Eastern Woodlands Perspective." In *Leadership and Polity in Mississippian Society*, edited by Brian Butler and Paul D. Welch, 197–213. Center for Archaeological Investigations, Occasional Paper no. 33. Carbondale, Ill.: Southern Illinois University, 2006.
- Bushnell, Amy Turner. "Ruling 'The Republic of Indians' in Seventeenth-Century Florida." In *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial South*, edited by Peter Wood, Gregory Waselkov, and Thomas Hatley, 134–50. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989.
- Bushnell, David. "The Account of Lamhatty." *American Anthropologist*, n.s., 10, no. 4 (1908): 568–74.
- Butler, Brian M., and Paul D. Welch, eds. *Leadership and Polity in Mississippian Society*.

- Center for Archaeological Investigations, Occasional Paper no. 33. Carbondale, Ill.: Southern Illinois University, 2006.
- Caldwell, Norman W. "Tonty and the Beginning of Arkansas Post." *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 8, no. 3 (1949): 189–205.
- Calloway, Colin B. *The Shawnees and the War for America*. New York: Viking, 2007.
- Campisi, Jack. "Houma." In *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 14, *Southeast*, edited by Raymond D. Fogelson, 632–41. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 2004.
- Carleton, Kenneth H. "Where Did the Choctaw Come From? An Examination of Pottery in Areas Adjacent to the Choctaw Homeland." In *Perspectives on the Southeast*, edited by P. Kwachka, 80–93. Southern Anthropological Proceedings, no. 27. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994.
- Carson, James Taylor. *Making an Atlantic World: Circles, Paths, and Stories from the American South*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2007.
- Cegielski, Wendy. "A GIS-Based Analysis of Chickasaw Settlement in Northeast Mississippi: 1650–1840." Master's thesis, University of Mississippi, 2010.
- Cegielski, Wendy, and Brad Lieb. "Hina' Falaa, 'The Long Path': Northeast Mississippi Chickasaw Settlement Pattern Analysis Using GIS, 1650–1840." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southeastern Archaeological Conference, Mobile, Alabama, November 4–7, 2009.
- Charlevoix, Pierre Francois Xavier de. "Historical Journal of Father Pierre Francois Xavier de Charlevoix." In *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, vol. 3, edited and translated by B. F. French, 119–96. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1851.
- Chaudhuri, Jean, and Joyotpaul Chaudhuri. *A Sacred Path: The Way of the Muscogee Creeks*. Los Angeles: University of California at Los Angeles American Indian Studies Center, 2001.
- Chet, Guy. *Conquering the American Wilderness: The Triumph of European Warfare in the Colonial Northeast*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003.
- Cheves, Langdon, ed. *The Shaftesbury Papers and Other Records Relating to Carolina and the First Settlement on the Ashley River Prior to the Year 1676*. Collections of the South Carolina Historical Society, no. 5. Charleston: South Carolina Historical Society, 1897. Reprint, 2000.
- Childs, H. Terry, and Charles H. McNutt. "Hernando De Soto's Route from Chicaça through Northeast Arkansas: A Suggestion." *Southeastern Archaeology* 28, no. 2 (2009): 165–83.
- Clayton, Lawrence A., Vernon James Knight Jr., and Edward C. Moore, eds. *The De Soto Chronicles: The Expedition of Hernando de Soto to North America in 1539–1543*. 2 vols. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1993.
- Cobb, Charles R. *From Quarry to Cornfield: The Political Economy of Mississippian Hoe Production*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2000.
- Cobb, Charles R., and Brian M. Butler. "The Vacant Quarter Revisited: Late Mississippian Abandonment of the Lower Ohio Valley." *American Antiquity* 67 (2002): 625–41.
- Coclanis, Peter. "Atlantic World or Atlantic/World?" *William and Mary Quarterly* 63, no. 4 (2006): 725–42.
- Conley, Robert J. *Cherokee Medicine Man: The Life and Work of a Modern-Day Healer*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007.
- Cordingly, David. *Under the Black Flag: The Romance and the Reality of Life among the Pirates*. New York: Random House, 2006.

- Covington, James W. "Some Observations Concerning the Florida-Carolina Indian Slave Trade." *Florida Anthropologist* 20 (1967): 10–18.
- Crane, Verner W. *The Southern Frontier: 1670–1732*. 1929. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004.
- . "The Southern Frontier in Queen Anne's War." *American Historical Review* 24 (1919): 379–95.
- . "The Tennessee River as the Road to Carolina: The Beginnings of Exploration and Trade." *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 3, no. 1 (1916): 3–18.
- Cumming, William P., and Louis De Vorsey Jr., eds. *The Southeast in Early Maps*. 3rd ed. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.
- Davis, R. P. Stephen, Jr. "The Cultural Landscape of the North Carolina Piedmont at Contact." In *The Transformation of the Southeastern Indians, 1540–1760*, edited by Robbie Ethridge and Charles Hudson, 135–54. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2002.
- Davis, R. P. Stephen, Jr., Patrick Livingood, H. Trawick Ward, and Vincas Steponaitis, eds. "Excavating Occaneechi Town: Archaeology of an Eighteenth-Century Village in North Carolina." Research Laboratories of Archaeology Site Report, Web edition, University of North Carolina, 2003, (<http://www.ibiblio.org/dig/html/index.html>). Accessed June 24, 2007.
- De Crenay, Baron. "Map of the Territory between the Chattahoochee and Mississippi Rivers, 1733." In *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbours*, by John R. Swanton. Plate 5. 1921. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 73. Reprint, Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998.
- Delanglez, Jean, ed. "The Jolliet Lost Map of the Mississippi." In *A. Jean Delanglez, S.J. Anthology: Selections Useful for Mississippi Valley and Trans-Mississippi American Indian Studies*, edited by Mildred Mott Wedel. Originally published 1946. New York: Garland Publishing Company, 1985.
- . "Marquette's Autograph Map of the Mississippi River." *Mid-America* 27 (1945): 30–53.
- Delisle, Guillaume. "Carte du Louisiane et du Cours de Mississippi, 1718." In *The Southeast in Early Maps*, edited by William P. Cumming and Louis De Vorsey. Plate 47, map 170. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.
- . "Carte du Mexique et de la Floride, 1703." In *The Southeast in Early Maps*, 3rd ed., edited by William P. Cumming and Louis De Vorsey Jr. Plate 43, map 137. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.
- DePratter, Chester. "The Chiefdom of Cofitachequi." In *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521–1704*, edited by Charles Hudson and Carmen Chaves Tesser, 197–226. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994.
- . "Late Prehistoric and Early Historic Chiefdoms in the Southeastern United States." Ph.D. diss., University of Georgia, 1983.
- DePratter, Chester B., Charles Hudson, and Marvin T. Smith. "The Hernando de Soto Expedition: From Chiaha to Mabila." In *Alabama and the Borderlands: From Prehistory to Statehood*, edited by R. R. Badger and L. A. Clayton, 108–27. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1985.
- Douay, Father Anastasius. "Narrative of La Salle's Attempt to Ascend the Mississippi in 1687." In *Journeys of La Salle*, edited by Isaac Joslin Cox, 222–68. New York: A. S. Barnes, 1905.
- Drooker, Penelope B. "Matting and Pliable Fabrics from Bottle Creek." In *Bottle Creek:*

- A Pensacola Culture Site in South Alabama*, edited by Ian W. Brown, 180–93. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003.
- . “The Ohio Valley, 1550–1750: Patterns of Sociopolitical Coalescence and Dispersal.” In *The Transformation of the Southeastern Indians, 1540–1760*, edited by Robbie Ethridge and Charles Hudson, 118–24. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2002.
- du Ru, Paul. *Journal of Paul du Ru (February 1 to May 8, 1700): Missionary Priest to Louisiana*. Translated by Ruth Lapham Butler. Chicago: The Caxton Club, 1934. Reprint, Fairfield, Wash.: Ye Galleon Press, 1997.
- DuVal, Kathleen. “‘A Good Relationship, & Commerce’: The Native Political Economy of the Arkansas River Valley.” *Early American Studies* (Spring 2003): 61–89.
- . *The Native Ground: Indians and Colonists in the Heart of the Continent*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007.
- Dye, David H. “Art, Ritual, and Chiefly Warfare in the Mississippian World.” In *Hero, Hawk, and Open Hand: American Indian Art of the Ancient Midwest and South*, edited by Richard F. Townsend and Robert V. Sharp, 191–206. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2004.
- . “Ritual, Medicine, and the War Trophy Iconographic Theme in the Mississippian Southeast.” In *Ancient Objects and Sacred Realms: Interpretations of Mississippian Iconography*, edited by F. Kent Reilly III and James F. Garber, 152–73. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007.
- . “Warfare in the Protohistoric Southeast.” In *Between Contact and Colonies: Archaeological Perspectives on the Protohistoric Southeast*, edited by Cameron Wesson and Mark Rees, 126–41. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2002.
- . “Warfare in the Sixteenth Century: The de Soto Expedition in the Interior.” In *Columbian Consequences*, vol. 1, *Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on the Spanish Borderlands, West*, edited by David Hurst Thomas, 211–22. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1991.
- . *War Paths, Peace Paths: An Archaeology of Cooperation and Conflict in Native Eastern North America*. New York: Altamira Press, 2009.
- Dye, David H., and Cheryl Ann Cox, eds. *Towns and Temples along the Mississippi*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1990.
- Earle, Peter. *The Pirate Wars*. New York: Holtzbrinck, 2006.
- Early, Ann M. *Caddoan Saltmakers in the Ouchita Valley: The Hardeman Site*. Arkansas Archaeological Survey Research Series, no. 43. Fayetteville, Ark., 1983.
- . “The Caddos of the Trans-Mississippi South.” In *Indians of the Greater Southeast: Historical Archaeology and Ethnohistory*, edited by Bonnie G. McEwan, 123–33. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000.
- Ekberg, Carl J. *Stealing Indian Women: Native Slavery in the Illinois Country*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2007.
- Elvas, Gentleman of. “The Account by a Gentleman from Elvas.” In *The De Soto Chronicles: The Expedition of Hernando de Soto to North America in 1539–1543*, vol. 1, edited by Lawrence A. Clayton, Vernon J. Knight Jr., and Edward C. Moore and translated by James Alexander Robertson, 19–219. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1993.
- Emerson, Thomas E. “Contributions of Transportation Archaeology to American Bottom Prehistory.” *Southeastern Archaeology* 25, no. 2 (2006): 155–328.
- Esarey, Duane. “Colonialism before Contact.” Doctoral fourth-semester paper, Department of Anthropology, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, April 1, 2007.
- Ethridge, Robbie. “Creating the Shatter Zone: The Indian Slave Trader and the Collapse

- of the Mississippian World." In *Light on the Path: The Anthropology and History of the Southeastern Indians*, edited by Thomas J. Pluckhahn and Robbie Ethridge, 207–18. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2006.
- . *Creek Country: The Creek Indians and Their World*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.
- . "Introduction: Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone." In *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South*, edited by Robbie Ethridge and Sheri M. Shuck-Hall, 1–62. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009.
- . "The Making of a Militaristic Slaving Society: The Chickasaws and the Colonial Indian Slave Trade." In *Indian Slavery in Colonial America*, edited by Alan Galloway, 251–76. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009.
- Ethridge, Robbie, Kathryn E. Holland Braund, Lawrence A. Clayton, George E. Lankford, and Michael D. Murphey. "A Comparative Analysis of the De Soto Accounts on the Route to, and Events at, Mabila." In *The Search for Mabila: The Decisive Battle between Hernando de Soto and Chief Tascalusa*, edited by Vernon James Knight Jr., 153–81. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2009.
- Ethridge, Robbie, and Charles Hudson, eds. *The Transformation of the Southeastern Indians, 1540–1760*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2002.
- Ethridge, Robbie, and Sheri M. Shuck-Hall. *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009.
- Everett, Christopher S. "'They Shalbe Slaves for Their Lives': Indian Slavery in Colonial Virginia." In *Indian Slavery in Colonial America*, edited by Alan Galloway, 67–108. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009.
- Ewen, Charles. "Continuity and Change: De Soto and the Apalachee." *Historical Archaeology* 30, no. 2 (1996): 41–53.
- Ewers, John C. "The Influence of Epidemics on the Indian Population and Culture of Texas." *Plains Anthropologist* 18 (1973): 105–15.
- Fagan, Brian M. *The Little Ice Age: How Climate Made History, 1300–1850*. New York: Basic Books, 2001.
- Fallam, Robert. "John Clayton's Transcript of the Journal of Robert Fallam." In *The First Explorations of the Trans-Alleghany Region by Virginians, 1650–1674*, edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord and Lee Bidgood, 181–93. Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1912.
- Ferguson, R. Brian. *Yanomami Warfare: A Political History*. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1995.
- Ferguson, R. Brian, and Neil L. Whitehead. "The Violent Edge of Empire." In *War in the Tribal Zone: Expanding States and Indigenous Warfare*, 2nd ed., edited by R. Brian Ferguson and Neil L. Whitehead, 1–30. Santa Fe: School of American Research, 1999.
- , eds. *War in the Tribal Zone: Expanding States and Indigenous Warfare*. 2nd ed. Santa Fe: School of American Research, 1999.
- Fitts, Mary Elisabeth, and Charles L. Heath. "'Indians Refusing to Carry Burdens': Understanding the Success of Catawba Political, Military, and Settlement Strategies in Colonial Carolina." In *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South*, edited by Robbie Ethridge and Sheri M. Shuck-Hall, 142–61. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009.
- Foster, William C. "Introduction." In *The La Salle Expedition on the Mississippi River:*

- A Lost Manuscript of Nicolas de La Salle, 1682*, edited by William C. Foster, 3–89. Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 2003.
- Fowler, Melvin C., Jerome Rose, Barbara Vander Leest, and Steven A. Ahler. *The Mound 72 Area: Dedicated and Sacred Space in Early Cahokia*. Illinois State Museum, Reports of Investigations, no. 54. Springfield, Ill., 1999.
- Fox, William A. “Events as Seen from the North: The Iroquois and Colonial Slavery.” In *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South*, edited by Robbie Ethridge and Sheri M. Shuck-Hall, 63–80. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009.
- . “The North-South Copper Axis.” *Southeastern Archaeology* 23, no. 1 (2004): 85–97.
- Franquelin, Jean-Baptiste Louis. “Amérique septentrion.Ile [septentrionale]: composée, corrigée, et augme-tée, sur les journaux, mémoires, et observations les plus justes qui en on’tetes en l’année 1685 & 1686, par plusieurs particulies.” 1687. Available online at American Memory Map Collection, ([http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/h?ammem/gmd:@field\(NUMBER+@band\(g3300+ct000667\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/h?ammem/gmd:@field(NUMBER+@band(g3300+ct000667)))). Accessed March 13, 2009.
- . “Carte de l’Amerique Septentrionale: depuis le 25, jusqu’au 65o deg. de latt. & environ 140, & 235 deg. de longitude.” 1686. Available online at American Memory Map Collection, ([http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/h?ammem/gmd:@field\(NUMBER+@band\(g3300+ct000668\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/h?ammem/gmd:@field(NUMBER+@band(g3300+ct000668)))). Accessed March 13, 2009.
- . “Carte de l’Amerique Septentrionale: depuis le 25 jusqu’au 15 deg de lat & environs 140 & 235 deg de longitude.” 1688. Reproduced in *Early Narratives of the Northwest, 1634–1699*, edited by Louis Phelps Kellogg, 342. New York: Scribner’s Sons, 1917.
- . “Carte de la Louisiane ou des voyages du Sr. De La Salle.” 1684. Available online at American Memory Map Collection, ([http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/h?ammem/gmd:@field\(NUMBER+@band\(g3300+ct000656\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/h?ammem/gmd:@field(NUMBER+@band(g3300+ct000656)))). Accessed March 23, 2009.
- Fuller, Richard S. “Out of the Moundville Shadow: The Origin and Evolution of Pensacola Culture.” In *Bottle Creek: A Pensacola Culture Site in South Alabama*, edited by Ian W. Brown, 27–63. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003.
- Gallay, Alan. “Beachheads into Empires, Villages into Confederacies: Atlantic World Trade and the Transformation of the American South.” Paper presented at Transformations: The Atlantic World in the Late Seventeenth Century, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., 2006.
- . “Charles Town, South Carolina: Hot Spot in the Atlantic World.” Paper presented at the Center for Historic Research, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, 2008.
- . *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670–1717*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2002.
- . “South Carolina’s Entrance into the Indian Slave Trade.” In *Indian Slavery in Colonial America*, edited by Alan Gallay, 109–46. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009.
- Gallivan, Martin D. “Powhatan’s Werowocomoco: Constructing Place, Polity, and Personhood in the Chesapeake, CE 1200 to CE 1609.” *American Anthropologist*, n.s., 109, no. 1 (2007): 85–101.
- Galloway, Patricia. “Chakchiuma.” In *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 14, *Southeast*, edited by Raymond D. Fogelson, 496–98. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 2004.
- . “‘The Chief Who Is Your Father’: Choctaw and French Views of Diplomatic Relation.” In *Powhatan’s Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast*, edited by Peter H.



- Wood, Gregory A. Waselkov, and M. Thomas Hatley, 254–78. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989.
- . *Choctaw Genesis, 1500–1700*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995.
- . “Choctaws at the Border of the Shatter Zone: Spheres of Exchange and Spheres of Social Value.” In *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South*, edited by Robbie Ethridge and Sheri M. Shuck-Hall, 333–64. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009.
- . “Colonial Period Transformations in the Mississippi Valley: Disintegration, Alliance, Confederation, Playoff.” In *The Transformation of the Southeastern Indians, 1540–1760*, edited by Robbie Ethridge and Charles Hudson, 225–48. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2002.
- . “Confederation as a Solution to Chiefdom Dissolution: Historical Evidence in the Choctaw Case.” In *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521–1704*, edited by Charles Hudson and Carmen Chaves Tesser, 393–420. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994.
- . “Dual Organization Reconsidered: Eighteenth-Century Choctaw Chiefs and the Exploration of Social Design Space.” Chap. 19 in *Practicing Ethnohistory: Mining Archives, Hearing Testimony, Constructing Narrative*, edited by Patricia Galloway, 357–73. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007.
- . “Ethnohistory.” In *The Development of Southeastern Archaeology*, edited by Jay K. Johnson, 78–108. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1993.
- . “Henri de Tonti du Village des Chacta, 1702: The Beginning of the French Alliance.” In *La Salle and His Legacy: Frenchmen and Indians in the Lower Mississippi Valley*, edited by Patricia Galloway, 146–75. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1982.
- . “Ougoula Tchetoka, Ackia, and Bienville’s First Chickasaw War: Whose Strategy and Tactics?” *Journal of Chickasaw History* 2, no. 1, (1996): 3–10.
- , ed. *The Hernando de Soto Expedition: History, Historiography, and “Discovery” in the Southeast*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997.
- Galloway, Patricia, and Jason Baird Jackson. “Natchez and Neighboring Groups.” In *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 14, *Southeast*, edited by Raymond D. Fogelson, 598–615. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 2004.
- Games, Alison. “Beyond the Atlantic: English Globetrotters and Transoceanic Connections.” *William and Mary Quarterly* 63, no. 4 (2006): 675–92.
- Garcilaso de la Vega, the Inca. “La Florida.” In *The De Soto Chronicles: The Expedition of Hernando de Soto to North America in 1539–1543*, vol. 2, edited by Lawrence A. Clayton, Vernon James Knight Jr., and Edward C. Moore and translated by Charmion Shelby, 25–560. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1993.
- Gibson, Arrell N. *The Chickasaws*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971.
- Gleach, Frederick W. *Powhatan’s World and Colonial Virginia: A Conflict of Cultures*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997.
- Goddard, Ives, Patricia Galloway, Marvin D. Jeter, Gregory A. Waselkov, and John E. Worth. “Small Tribes of the Western Southeast.” In *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 14, *Southeast*, edited by Raymond D. Fogelson, 174–90. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 2004.
- Gragson, Ted L., and Paul V. Bolstad. “A Local Analysis of Early Eighteenth-Century Cherokee Settlement.” *Social Science History* 31, no. 3 (2007): 435–68.
- Gravier, Father. “Journal of the Voyage of Father Gravier, Feb. 1, 1701.” In *Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi by Cavalier, St. Cosme, Le Suer, Gravier, and Guignas*, edited by

- John Gilmary Shea, 117–63. Albany: Joel Munsell, 1861. Reprint, Albany, N.Y.: Joseph McDonough, 1908.
- Green, Richard. "The Red and the White." *Chickasaw Times*, October 2008.
- Green, William, Chester B. DePratter, and Bobby Southerlin. "The Yamasee in South Carolina: Native American Adaptation and Interaction along the Carolina Frontier." In *Another's Country: Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on Cultural Interactions in the Southern Colonies*, edited by J. W. Joseph and Martha Zierden, 13–29. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2002.
- Hahn, Steven C. "The Cussita Migration Legend: History, Ideology, and the Politics of Mythmaking." In *Light on the Path: The Anthropology and History of the Southeastern Indians*, edited by Thomas J. Pluckhahn and Robbie Ethridge, 57–93. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2006.
- . *The Invention of the Creek Nation, 1670–1763*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004.
- . "A Miniature Arms Race: The Role of the Flintlock in Initiating Indian Dependency in the Colonial Southeastern United States, 1656–1730." Master's thesis, University of Georgia, 1995.
- . "The Mother of Necessity: Carolina, the Creek Indians, and the Making of a New Order in the American Southeast, 1670–1763." In *The Transformations of the Southeastern Indians, 1540–1760*, edited by Robbie Ethridge and Charles Hudson, 79–114. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2002.
- . "They Look upon the Yuchis as Their Vassals': An Early History of the Yuchi-Creek Political Relations." In *"One of the Other Nations": Yuchi Indian History before Removal*, edited by Jason Baird Jackson. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, forthcoming.
- Hall, Joseph M. "Anxious Alliances: Apalachicola's Efforts to Survive the Slave Trade, 1638–1705." In *Indian Slavery in Colonial America*, edited by Alan Gallay, 147–84. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009.
- . *Zamumo's Gift: Indian-European Exchange in the Colonial Southeast, 1400–1735*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009.
- Hally, David J. "The Nature of Mississippian Regional Systems." In *Light on the Path: The Anthropology and History of the Southeastern Indians*, edited by Thomas H. Pluckhahn and Robbie Ethridge, 26–42. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2006.
- . "An Overview of Lamar Culture." In *Ocmulgee Archaeology, 1936–1986*, edited by David J. Halley, 144–74. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994.
- . "Platform Mound Construction and the Instability of Mississippian Chiefdoms." In *Political Structure and Change in the Prehistoric Southeastern United States*, edited by John Scarry, 92–127. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996.
- . "The Territorial Size of Mississippian Chiefdoms." In *Archaeology of Eastern North America: Papers in Honor of Stephen Williams*, edited by James A. Stoltman, 143–68. Archeological Report, no. 25. Jackson: Mississippi Department of Archives and History, 1993.
- Hally, David J., Marvin T. Smith, and James B. Langford Jr. "The Archaeological Reality of De Soto's Coosa." In *Columbian Consequences*, vol. 2, *Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on the Spanish Borderlands East*, edited by David Hurst Thomas, 121–38. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1990.
- Hann, John H. *Apalachee: The Land between the Rivers*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1988.

- . “Florida’s Terra Incognita: West Florida’s Natives in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century.” *Florida Anthropologist* 41 (1988): 61–107.
- . *A History of the Timucua Indians and Missions*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996.
- . *Missions to the Calusa*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1991.
- . *The Native American World beyond Apalachee: West Florida and the Chattahoochee Valley*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006.
- Harrison, Fairfax. “Western Explorations in Virginia between Lederer and Spotswood.” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 30, no. 4 (1922): 323–40.
- Heath, Charles L. “Woodland Period Mortuary Variability in the Lower Roanoke River Valley: Perspectives from the Jordan’s Landing, Sans Souci, and Dickerson Sites.” Paper presented at Southeastern Archaeological Conference, Charlotte, North Carolina, November 2003.
- Heather, Justin Lee. “Weapons of War in Colonial America: The Origins of a National Gun Culture.” *Journal of Law and Politics* 53 (2003): 53–108.
- Held, Pollyanna. “Using Remote Sensing to Search for the Elusive Fort Maurepas on the Back Bay of Biloxi.” Master’s thesis, University of Mississippi, 2004.
- Hickerson, Daniel A. “Historical Processes, Epidemic Disease, and the Formation of the Hasinai Confederacy.” *Ethnohistory* 44, no. 1 (1997): 31–52.
- Higginbotham, Jay. *Old Mobile: Fort Louis de la Louisiane, 1702–1711*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1977.
- Hodge, Frederick Webb. *Handbook of North American Indians North of Mexico*. 4 vols. Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 30. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1912.
- Hoffman, Michael P. “The Terminal Mississippian in the Arkansas River Valley and Quapaw Ethnogenesis.” In *Towns and Temples along the Mississippi*, edited by David H. Dye and Cheryl Anne Cox, 208–26. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1990.
- Hoffman, Paul. “Did Coosa Decline between 1541 and 1560?” *Florida Anthropologist* 50, no. 1 (1997): 25–29.
- Hogue, S. Homes. “Burial Practices, Mortality, and Diet in East-Central Mississippi: A Case Study from Oktibbeha County.” *Southeastern Archaeology* 19, no. 1 (2000): 63–81.
- . “Mississippian and Protohistoric/Early Contact Diet and Health: Biological and Cultural Continuity and Change in Oktibbeha County, Mississippi.” *Southeastern Archaeology* 26, no. 2 (2007): 246–68.
- Hogue, S. Homes, and Evan Peacock. “Environmental and Osteological Analysis at the South Farm Site (22OK543), a Mississippian Farmstead in Oktibbeha County, Mississippi.” *Southeastern Archaeology* 14, no. 1 (1995): 31–45.
- House, John H. “Wallace Bottom: A Colonial-Era Archaeological Site in the Menard Locality, Eastern Arkansas.” *Southeastern Archaeology* 21, no. 2 (2002): 257–68.
- Hudson, Charles. *Conversations with the High Priest of Coosa*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.
- . “Introduction.” In *The Transformation of the Southeastern Indians, 1540–1760*, edited by Robbie Ethridge and Charles Hudson, xxii–xxxvi. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2002.
- . *Knights of Spain, Warriors of the Sun: Hernando de Soto and the South’s Ancient Chiefdoms*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1997.
- . “Reconstructing the De Soto Route West of the Mississippi: Summary and Comments.” In *The Expedition of Hernando de Soto West of the Mississippi, 1541–1543*,

- edited by Gloria A. Young and Michael P. Hoffman, 143–54. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1993.
- . “The Social Context of the Chiefdom of Ichisi.” In *Ocmulgee Archaeology, 1936–1986*, edited by David Hally, 175–80. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994.
- . *The Southeastern Indians*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1976.
- , ed. *The Juan Pardo Expeditions: Exploration of the Carolinas and Tennessee, 1566–1568*. 2nd ed. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005.
- Hudson, Charles, Robin A. Beck Jr., Chester DePratter, Robbie Ethridge, and John E. Worth. “On Interpreting Cofitachequi.” *Ethnohistory* 55, no. 3 (2008): 465–90.
- Hudson, Charles, and Robbie Ethridge. “The Early Historic Transformation of the Southeastern Indians.” In *Cultural Diversity in the U.S. South: Anthropological Contributions to a Region in Transition*, edited by Carole E. Hill and Patricia D. Beaver, 34–50. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998.
- Hudson, Charles, Marvin T. Smith, and Chester DePratter. “The Hernando de Soto Expedition: From Apalachee to Chiaha.” *Southeastern Archaeology* 3 (1984): 64–77.
- . “The Hernando de Soto Expedition: From Mabila to the Mississippi River.” In *Towns and Temples along the Mississippi*, edited by David H. Dye and Cheryl A. Cox, 181–207. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1990.
- Hudson, Charles, Marvin T. Smith, Chester B. DePratter, and Emilia Kelley. “The Tristán de Luna Expedition, 1559–1561.” *Southeastern Archaeology* 8, no. 1 (1989): 31–45.
- Hudson, Charles, Marvin Smith, David Hally, Richard Polhemus, and Chester DePratter. “Coosa: A Chiefdom in the Sixteenth-Century Southeastern United States.” *American Antiquity* 50, no. 4 (1985): 723–37.
- Hudson, Charles, and Carmen Chaves Tesser. “Introduction.” In *Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521–1704*, edited by Charles Hudson and Carmen Chaves Tesser, 1–14. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994.
- Hudson, Joyce Rockwood. *Apalachee*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2000.
- Hutchinson, Dale L. *Tatham Mound and the Bioarchaeology of European Contact: Disease and Depopulation in Central Gulf Coast Florida*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2007.
- Hutchinson, Dale L., and Jeffrey M. Mitchem. “Correlates of Contact: Epidemic Disease in Archaeological Context.” *Historical Archaeology* 35, no. 2 (2001): 58–72.
- d’Iberville, Pierre Le Moyne, Sieur. *Iberville’s Gulf Journals*. Edited and translated by Richebourg Gaillard McWilliams. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1981.
- Jackson, Jason Baird. “Yuchi.” In *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 14, *Southeast*, edited by Raymond D. Fogelson, 415–28. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 2004.
- . *Yuchi Ceremonial Life: Performance, Meaning, and Tradition in a Contemporary American Indian Community*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003.
- Jenkins, Ned. “Tracing the Origins of the Early Creeks, 1050–1700 CE.” In *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South*, edited by Robbie Ethridge and Sheri M. Shuck-Hall, 188–249. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009.
- Jennings, Jesse D. “Chickasaw and Earlier Indian Cultures of Northeast Mississippi.” *Journal of Mississippi History* 3 (1941): 115–226.
- Jennings, Matthew H. “Violence in a Shattered World.” In *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American*

- South, edited by Robbie Ethridge and Sheri M. Shuck-Hall, 272–95. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009.
- Jeter, Marvin D. “From Prehistory through Protohistory to Ethnohistory in and near the Northern Lower Mississippi Valley.” In *The Transformation of the Southeastern Indians, 1540–1760*, edited by Robbie Ethridge and Charles Hudson, 177–224. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2002.
- . “Review of *Calumet and Fleur-de-Lys: Archaeology of Indians and French Contact in the Midcontinent*.” *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 52, no. 3 (1993): 354–57.
- . “Shatter Zone Shock Waves along the Lower Mississippi.” In *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South*, edited by Robbie Ethridge and Sheri M. Shuck-Hall, 365–87. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009.
- Jeter, Marvin D., Jerome C. Rose, G. Ishmael Williams Jr., and Anna M. Harmon. “Archeology and Bioarchaeology of the Lower Mississippi Valley and Trans-Mississippi South in Arkansas and Louisiana.” *Arkansas Archeological Survey Research Series*, no. 37. Fayetteville, Ark., 1989.
- Johnson, Jay K. “Aboriginal Settlement and First Contact in Northeast Mississippi.” *National Geographic Research and Exploration* 7 (1991): 492–94.
- . “The Chickasaws.” In *Indians of the Greater Southeast: Historical Archaeology and Ethnohistory*, edited by Bonnie G. McEwan, 85–121. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000.
- . “From Chiefdom to Tribe in Northeast Mississippi: A Culture in Transition.” In *The Hernando de Soto Expedition: History, Historiography, and “Discovery” in the Southeast*, edited by Patricia K. Galloway, 295–312. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997.
- . “The Nature and Timing of the Late Prehistoric Settlement of the Black Prairie in Northeast Mississippi: A Reply.” *Southeastern Archaeology* 15 (1996): 244–49.
- . “Protohistoric to Removal.” Manuscript on file with author.
- . “Stone Tools, Politics, and the Eighteenth-Century Chickasaw in Northeast Mississippi.” *American Antiquity* 62, no. 2 (1997): 215–30.
- Johnson, Jay K., Patricia K. Galloway, and W. Belokon. “Historic Chickasaw Settlement Patterns in Lee County, Mississippi: A First Approximation.” *Mississippi Archaeology* 24 (1989): 45–52.
- Johnson, Jay K., and Geoffrey R. Lehman. “Sociopolitical Devolution in Northeast Mississippi and the Timing of the De Soto Entrada.” In *Bioarchaeology of Native American Adaptation in the Spanish Borderlands*, edited by Brenda J. Baker and Lisa Kealhofer, 38–55. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996.
- Johnson, Jay K., John W. O’Hear, Robbie Ethridge, Brad Lieb, Susan L. Scott, H. Edwin Jackson, and Keith Jacobi. “Measuring Chickasaw Adaptation on the Western Frontier of the Colonial South: A Correlation of Documentary and Archaeological Data.” *Southeastern Archaeology* 27, no. 1 (2008): 1–30.
- Johnson, Jay K., Susan L. Scott, James R. Atkinson, and Andrea B. Shea. “Late Prehistoric/Protohistoric Settlement and Subsistence on the Black Prairie: Buffalo Hunting in Mississippi.” *North American Archaeologist* 15 (1994): 167–79.
- Johnson, Jay K., and John T. Sparks. “Protohistoric Settlement Patterns in Northeastern Mississippi.” In *The Protohistoric Period in the Mid-South, 1500–1700*, edited by David H. Dye and R. C. Brister, 64–82. Proceedings of the 1983 Mid-South Archaeological Conference, 1986. Jackson: Mississippi Department of Archives and History, 1986.

- Johnson, Jay K., Jenny D. Yearous, and Nancy Ross-Stallings. "Ethnohistory, Archaeology, and Chickasaw Burial Mode during the Eighteenth Century." *Ethnohistory* 41 (1994): 431–46.
- Johnson, Larry G. *Tar Creek: A History of the Quapaw Indians, the World's Largest Lead and Zinc Discovery, and the Tar Creek Superfund Site*. Mustang, Okla.: Tate Publishing, 2008.
- Joliet [Jolliet], Louis. "Letter, 10 October 1674." In "Relation of the Discovery of Many Countries Situated to the South of New France, Made in 1673 by Claude Dablon." Online facsimile at Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, (<http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/turningpoints/search.asp?id=14>). Accessed January 8, 2009.
- . "Nouvelle Decouverte de Plusieurs Nations dans la Nouvelle France en l'Année 1673 et 1674." Map facsimile online at American Memories, Map Collection, ([http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammen/gmd:ofield\(NUMBER\\_band\(g3300+et000655\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammen/gmd:ofield(NUMBER_band(g3300+et000655)))). Accessed January 9, 2009.
- Jones, David S. *Rationalizing Epidemics: Meanings and Uses of American Indian Mortality since 1600*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004.
- . "Virgin Soils Revisited." *William and Mary Quarterly* 60, no. 4 (2003): 703–42.
- Joutel, Henri. *The La Salle Expedition to Texas: The Journal of Henri Joutel, 1684–1687*. Edited by William C. Foster. Translated by Johanna S. Warren. Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1998.
- Kehoe, Alice B. *The Land of Prehistory: A Critical History of American Archaeology*. New York: Routledge, 1998.
- . "Osage Texts and Cahokia Data." In *Ancient Objects and Sacred Realms: Interpretations of Mississippian Iconography*, edited by F. Kent Reilly III and James F. Garber, 246–62. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007.
- Kellogg, Louise Phelps, ed. *Early Narratives of the Northwest, 1634–1699*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1917.
- Kelton, Paul. *Epidemics and Enslavement: Biological Catastrophe in the Native Southeast, 1492–1715*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007.
- . "Shattered and Infected: Epidemics and the Origins of the Yamasee War, 1696–1715." In *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South*, edited by Robbie Ethridge and Sheri M. Shuck-Hall, 312–32. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009.
- Kernion, George, trans. "Documents Concerning the History of the Indians of the Eastern Region of Louisiana." *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 8 (January 1925): 38–39.
- Keyes, Greg. "Myth and Social History in the Early Southeast." In *Perspectives on the Southeast: Linguistics, Archaeology, and Ethnohistory*, edited by Patricia B. Kwachka, 106–15. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994.
- Kidder, Tristram R. "The Koroa Indians of the Lower Mississippi Valley." *Mississippi Archaeology* 23, no. 2 (1988): 1–42.
- King, Adam. *Etowah: The Political History of a Chiefdom Capital*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003.
- Knight, Vernon J., Jr. "Farewell to the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex." *Southeastern Archaeology* 25 (2006): 1–5.
- . "The Formation of the Creeks." In *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521–1704*, edited by Charles Hudson and Carmen Chaves Tesser, 373–92. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994.
- . "The Institutional Organization of Mississippian Religion." *American Antiquity* 51, no. 4 (1986): 675–87.

- . "Moundville as a Diagrammatic Ceremonial Center." In *Archaeology of the Moundville Chiefdom*, edited by Vernon James Knight Jr. and Vincas P. Steponaitis, 44–62. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2007.
- . "Ocmulgee Fields Culture and the Historical Development of Creek Ceramics." In *Ocmulgee Archaeology, 1936–1986*, edited by David J. Halley, 181–89. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994.
- . "Symbolism of Mississippian Mounds." In *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast*, edited by Peter H. Wood, Gregory A. Waselkov, and Thomas M. Hatley, 279–91. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989.
- . *Tukabatchee: Archaeological Investigations at an Historic Creek Town, Elmore County, Alabama, 1984*. University of Alabama, Office of Archaeological Research, Report of Investigations, no. 45. Tuscaloosa, 1985.
- , ed. *The Search for Mabila: The Decisive Battle between Hernando de Soto and Chief Tascalusa*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2009.
- Knight, Vernon J., Jr., and Sherée L. Adams, eds. "A Voyage to the Mobile and Tomeh in 1700, with Notes on the Interior of Alabama." *Ethnohistory* 28, no. 2 (1981): 179–94.
- Knight, Vernon J., Jr., and Vincas P. Steponaitis, eds. *Archaeology of the Moundville Chiefdom*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1998.
- Koontz, John E. "The Michigamea Language." Online at <<http://spot.colorado.edu/~koontz/michigamea.htm#got>>. Accessed March 13, 2009.
- Kowalewski, Stephen A. "Coalescent Societies." In *Light on the Path: The Anthropology and History of the Southeastern Indians*, edited by Thomas J. Pluckhahn and Robbie Ethridge, 94–122. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2006.
- Kowalewski, Stephen A., and James W. Hatch. "The Sixteenth-Century Expansion of Settlement in the Upper Oconee Watershed, Georgia." *Southeastern Archaeology* 10 (1991): 1–17.
- Kupperman, Karen Ordahl. *The Jamestown Project*. New York: The Belknap Press, 2007.
- La Harpe, Jean-Batiste Bénard, Sieur de. "The Historical Journal of the Establishment of the French in Louisiana." In *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, vol. 3. Edited and translated by B. F. French, 9–118. New York: D. Appleton, 1851.
- La Métairie, Jacques de. "Official Report of the Taking Possession at the Mouth of the Sea or the Gulf of Mexico." In *The La Salle Expedition on the Mississippi River: A Lost Manuscript of Nicolas de la Salle, 1682*, edited by William C. Foster and translated by Johanna L. Warren, appendix B, 131–36. Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 2003.
- Lankford, George E. "Chacato, Pensacola, Tohomé, Naniaba, and Mobila." In *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 14, *Southeast*, edited by Raymond D. Fogelson, 664–68. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 2004.
- . "The Great Serpent in Eastern North America." In *Ancient Objects and Sacred Realms: Interpretations of Mississippian Iconography*, edited by F. Kent Reilly III and James F. Garber, 107–35. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007.
- . "How Historical Are the De Soto Chronicles?" In *The Search for Mabila: The Decisive Battle between Hernando de Soto and Chief Tascalusa*, edited by Vernon James Knight Jr., 31–44. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2009.
- . *Looking for Lost Lore: Studies in Folklore, Ethnology, and Iconography*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2008.
- . "The 'Path of Souls': Some Death Imagery in the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex." In *Ancient Objects and Sacred Realms: Interpretations of Mississippian Iconography*, edited by F. Kent Reilly III and James F. Garber, 174–212. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007.

- . "Red and White: Some Reflections on Southeastern Symbolism." *Southern Folklore* 50, no. 1 (1993): 53–80.
- . "Some Cosmological Motifs in the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex." In *Ancient Objects and Sacred Realms: Interpretations of Mississippian Iconography*, edited by F. Kent Reilly III and James F. Garber, 8–38. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007.
- . "World on a String: Some Cosmological Components of the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex." In *Hero, Hawk, and Open Hand: American Indian Art of the Ancient Midwest and South*, edited by Richard F. Townsend and Robert V. Sharp, 207–17. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press for the Art Institute of Chicago, 2004.
- Lapham, Heather. *Hunting for Hides: Deerskins, Status, and Cultural Change in the Protohistoric Appalachians*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005.
- Larsen, Clark Spencer, ed. *Bioarchaeology of Spanish Florida: The Impact of Colonialism*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001.
- Larsen, Clark Spencer, Mark C. Griffin, Dale L. Hutchinson, Vivian E. Noble, Lynette Norr, Robert F. Pastor, Christopher B. Ruff, Katherine F. Russell, Margaret J. Schoeninger, Michael Schultz, Scott W. Simpson, and Mark F. Teaford. "Frontiers of Contact: Bioarchaeology of Spanish Florida." *Journal of World Prehistory* 15, no. 1 (2001): 69–123.
- Larsen, Clark Spencer, Christopher B. Ruff, and Mark C. Griffin. "Implications of Changing Biomechanical and Nutritional Environments for Activity and Lifeways in the Eastern Spanish Borderlands." In *Bioarchaeology of Native American Adaptation in the Spanish Borderlands*, edited by Brenda J. Baker and Lisa Kealhofer, 95–125. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996.
- La Salle, Nicolas de. "The Nicolas de la Salle Journal." In *The La Salle Expedition on the Mississippi River: A Lost Manuscript of Nicolas de La Salle, 1682*, edited by William C. Foster and translated by Johanna L. Warren, 91–126. Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 2003.
- Lauber, Almon Wheeler. *Indian Slavery in Colonial Times within the Present Limits of the United States*. 1913. Honolulu: University Press of the Pacific, 2002.
- La Vere, David. *Caddo Chiefdoms: Caddo Economics and Politics, 700–1835*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998.
- Lawson, John. *A New Voyage to Carolina*. 1709. Edited by H. T. Lefler, with introduction by Hugh Talmadge Lefler. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984.
- Lederer, John. *The Discoveries of John Lederer, in three several Marches from Virginia, and to the West of Carolina, and other parts of the Continent*. 1672. Rochester, N.Y.: George P. Humphrey, 1902.
- Le Page du Pratz, Antoine Simon. *The History of Louisiana*. Edited by Joseph G. Tregle Jr. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press for the Louisiana American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, 1975.
- Lewis, David, Jr., and Ann T. Jordan. *Creek Indian Medicine Ways: The Enduring Power of Muskoke Religion*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002.
- Lewis, R. B., and Charles Stout. *Mississippian Towns and Sacred Spaces: Searching for an Architectural Grammar*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1998.
- Lieb, Brad. "The Grand Village Is Silent." Master's thesis, University of Alabama, 2005.
- Livingood, Patrick C. "The Geographic Limit of Inter-Polity Interaction during the Mississippian: A View from the Pevey and Lowe-Steen Sites on the Middle Pearl River." Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 2006.



- . “Re-evaluating the Origins of the Sixtowns Band.” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Society for Ethnohistory, Tulsa, Oklahoma, 2007.
- . “Theories to Explain the Lack of Confederation among the Descendants of the Plaquemine of the Lower Mississippi Valley.” Paper presented to the Plains Anthropological Conference, Norman, Oklahoma, October 14–17, 2009.
- Lolley, Terry. “Archaeology at the Lyon’s Bluff Site, A Mississippian and Protohistoric Settlement in Oktibbeha County, Mississippi.” *Mississippi Archaeology* 35, no. 1 (2000): 1–14.
- Lorenz, Karl G. “The Natchez of Southwest Mississippi.” In *Indians of the Greater Southeast: Historical Archaeology and Ethnohistory*, edited by Bonnie G. McEwan, 142–77. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000.
- Mainfort, Robert C., Jr. “The Late Prehistoric and Protohistoric Periods in the Central Mississippi Valley.” In *Societies in Eclipse: Archaeology of the Eastern Woodlands Indians, A.D. 1400–1700*, edited by David S. Brose, C. Wesley Cowan, and Robert C. Mainfort Jr., 173–90. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001.
- Malone, Patrick. *The Skulking Way of War: Technology and Tactics among the New England Indians*. 1991. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.
- Mann, Cyril B., Jr. “Classification of Ceramics from the Lubbub Creek Archaeological Locality.” In *Prehistoric Agricultural Communities in West-Central Alabama: Studies of the Material Remains from the Lubbub Creek Archaeological Locality*, edited by Christopher S. Peebles, 2–137. Report submitted to the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Mobile District, by the University of Michigan, 1983.
- Marquette, Jacques. “The Marquette Autograph Map.” Facsimile online at Wisconsin Historical Society, Turning Points in Wisconsin History, (<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm4/document.php?CISOROOT=/tp&CISOPTR=45905&CISOSHOW=45904>). Accessed August 18, 2009.
- . “The Mississippi Voyage of Jolliet and Marquette, 1673.” In *Early Narratives of the Northwest, 1634–1699*, edited by Louise Phelps Kellogg, 227–80. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1917.
- Marshall, Richard A. “Lyon’s Bluff Site (22Ok1) Radiocarbon Dated.” *Journal of Alabama Archaeology* 23, no. 1 (1977): 53–57.
- . “The Protohistoric Component at the Lyon’s Bluff Site Complex.” In *The Protohistoric Period in the Mid-South: 1500–1700*, edited by David Dye and Ronald Brister, 83–88. Archaeological Report no. 18. Jackson: Mississippi Department of Archives and History, 1986.
- Martin, Joel W. “Southeastern Indians and the English Trade in Skins and Slaves.” In *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521–1704*, edited by Charles Hudson and Carmen Chaves Tesser, 304–24. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994.
- Mason, Carol I. *Archaeology of Ocmulgee Old Fields, Macon, Georgia*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005.
- Maxcy, Troy Stephen. “Chickasaw Ethnohistory, 1721–1740: The Journal of the Council and Council in Assembly, South Carolina Sessional Papers.” Master’s thesis, University of Mississippi, 1999.
- Mazrim, Robert, and Duane Esarey. “Rethinking the Dawn of History: The Schedule, Signature, and Agency of European Goods in Protohistoric Illinois.” *Midcontinental Journal of Archaeology* 32, no. 2 (2007): 145–200.

- McDowell, William L., Jr., ed. *Journals of the Commissioners of the Indian Trade, 1710–1718*. Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1958.
- McEwan, Bonnie G. "The Apalachee Indians of Northwest Florida." In *Indians of the Greater Southeast: Historical Archaeology and Ethnohistory*, edited by Bonnie G. McEwan, 57–84. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000.
- . *The Spanish Missions of La Florida*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996.
- Membré, Zénobe. "Letter of Father Zénobe Membré, June 3, 1682." In *The Franciscan Père Marquette: A Critical Biography of Father Zénobe Membré, O.F.M. La Salle's Chaplain and Missionary Companion 1645(ca.)–1689*. Edited and translated by Marion A. Habig, 207–14. Franciscan Studies, No. 13. New York: Joseph F. Wagner, Inc., 1934.
- . "Relation of Father Zenobius Membré." In *First Establishment of the Faith in New France by Father Christian le Clercq, Recollect Missionary*, vol. 2, translated by John Gilmary Shea, 129–57. New York: John G. Shea, 1881.
- Merrell, James H. *The Indians' New World: The Catawbas from European Contact through the Era of Removal*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989.
- . "'Their Very Bones Shall Fight': The Catawba-Iroquois Wars." In *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600–1800*, edited by Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell, 115–33. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003.
- Meyers, Maureen. "From Refugees to Slave Traders: The Transformation of the Westo Indians." In *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South*, edited by Robbie Ethridge and Sheri M. Shuck-Hall, 81–103. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009.
- Milanich, Jerald T. *Archaeology of Precolumbian Florida*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1994.
- . *Florida Indians and the Invasion from Europe*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995.
- . *Laboring in the Fields of the Lord: Spanish Missions and Southeastern Indians*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999.
- . "The Timucua Indians of Northern Florida and Southern Georgia." In *Indians of the Greater Southeast: Historical Archaeology and Ethnohistory*, edited by Bonnie G. McEwan, 1–25. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000.
- Milne, George. "Picking up the Pieces: Natchez Coalescence in the Shatter Zone." In *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South*, edited by Robbie Ethridge and Sheri M. Shuck-Hall, 388–417. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009.
- Milner, George R. *The Cabokia Chiefdom: The Archaeology of a Mississippian Society*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1998.
- . "Epidemic Disease in the Postcontact Southeast: A Reappraisal." *Midcontinental Journal of Archaeology* 5 (1980): 39–56.
- Minet. "Voyage Made from Canada Inland Going Southward during the Year 1682." In *Three Primary Documents: La Salle, the Mississippi, and the Gulf*, edited by Robert S. Weddle and translated by Ann Linda Bell, 29–68. College Station: Texas A&M Press, 1987.
- Mitchell, John. "A Map of the British and French Dominions in North America, 1755." In *Early Maps of the Southeast*, edited by William P. Cumming and Louis De Vorse. Plate 59, map 293. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

- Mitchem, Jeffrey M. "Investigations of the Possible Remains of de Soto's Cross at Parkin." *Arkansas Archeologist* 35 (1996): 87–95.
- . "Mississippian Research at Parkin Archeological State Park." In *Proceedings of the 14th MidSouth Archaeological Conference*, edited by R. Walling, C. Wharey, and C. Stanley, 25–39. Special Publication no. 1, Panamerican Consultants, Memphis, Tenn., 1996.
- Montigny, François-Jolliett de. "François de Montigny, S.J. to the Comte de Pontchartrain, 1699." In *Colonial Captivities, Marches, and Journeys*, edited by Isabel M. Calder, 201–24. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1935. Reprint, Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1967.
- . "Letter of Mr. de Montigny." In *Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi by Cavalier, St. Cosme, Le Suer, Gravier, and Guignas*, edited by John Gilmary Shea, 75–79. Originally published 1861. Reprint, Albany: Joel Munsell, 1902.
- Mooney, James. *Myths of the Cherokee and Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees*. Nineteenth and Seventh Annual Reports of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Reprint. Nashville, Tenn.: Charles and Randy Elder—Booksellers Publishers, 1982.
- Moore, Alexander. "Introduction." In *Nairne's Muskogean Journals: The 1708 Expedition to the Mississippi River*, edited by Alexander Moore, 3–31. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1988.
- . "Thomas Nairne's 1708 Western Expedition: An Episode in the Anglo-French Competition for Empire." In *Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Meeting of the French Colonial Historical Society*, edited by Philip M. Boucher, 47–58. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1985.
- Moore, David G. *Catawba Valley Mississippian: Ceramics, Chronology, and Catawba Indians*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2002.
- Morgan, David. "The Earliest Historic Chickasaw Horse Raids into Caddoan Territory." *Southern Studies* 8, nos. 3 and 4 (1997): 93–118.
- . "Historic Period Chickasaw Indians: Chronology and Settlement Patterns." *Mississippi Archaeology* 31, no. 1 (1996): 1–39.
- Morse, Dan F. "The Seventeenth-Century Michigamea Village Location in Arkansas." In *Calumet and Fleur-de-Lys: Archaeology of Indian and French Contact in the Midcontinent*, edited by John A. Walthall and Thomas E. Emerson, 55–74. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1992.
- Morse, Phyllis A. "The Parkin Archeological Site and Its Role in Determining the Route of the de Soto Expedition." In *The Expedition of Hernando de Soto West of the Mississippi, 1541–1543*, edited by G. Young and M. Hoffman, 58–67. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1993.
- Mould, Tom. *Choctaw Prophecy: A Legacy for the Future*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003.
- Muller, Jon. *Mississippian Political Economy*. New York: Plenum Press, 1997.
- . "Mississippian Specialization and Salt." *American Antiquity* 49 (1984): 489–507.
- Nairne, Thomas. "A Map of South Carolina showing the Settlements of the English, French Indian Nations from Charles Town to the Rivere Mississippi [*sic*]." Map insert to Edward Crisp's Map, "A Compleat Description of the Province of Carolina." In *Early Maps of the Southeast*, edited by William P. Cumming and Louis De Vorsey. Plate 45, map 151. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.
- . *Nairne's Muskogean Journals: The 1708 Expedition to the Mississippi River*. Edited by Alexander Moore. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1988.

- Oatis, Stephen. *A Colonial Complex: South Carolina's Frontiers in the Era of the Yamasee War, 1680–1730*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004.
- Parmenter, Jon. "Geographies of Solidarity in Iroquoia, 1634–1701." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, New York, N.Y., January 2–5, 2009.
- Pauketat, Timothy R. *Cahokia: Ancient America's Great City on the Mississippi*. New York: Viking-Penguin, 2009.
- . *Chiefdoms and Other Archaeological Delusions*. Lanham, Md.: AltaMira, 2007.
- Payne, Claudine. "Architectural Reflections of Power and Authority in Mississippian Towns." In *The Dynamics of Power*, edited by Maria O'Donovan, 188–213. Center for Archaeological Investigations, Occasional Paper no. 30. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University, 2002.
- Peacock, Evan. "Test Excavations at an Upland Mississippian Site in Oktibbeha County, Mississippi." *Mississippi Archaeology* 30, no. 2 (1995): 1–20.
- Peacock, Evan, and S. Homes Hogue. "A New Series of Absolute Dates from Lyon's Bluff (22OK520)." *Southeastern Archaeology* 24, no. 1 (2005): 46–58.
- Pénicaut, André. *Fleur de Lys and Calumet: Being the Pénicaut Narrative of French Adventure in Louisiana*. Edited and translated by Richebourg Gaillard McWilliams. Originally published 1953. Reprint, Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1988.
- Perdue, Theda. "Cherokee Relations with the Iroquois in the Eighteenth Century." In *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600–1800*, edited by Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell, 135–50. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003.
- . *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700–1835*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998.
- . *Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society, 1540–1866*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1979.
- Perttula, Timothy K. *"The Caddo Nation": Archaeological and Ethnohistoric Perspectives*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992.
- . "European Contact and Its Effects on Aboriginal Caddoan Populations between A.D. 1520 and A.D. 1680." In *Columbian Consequences*, vol. 3, *The Spanish Borderlands in Pan-American Perspective*, edited by David Hurst Thomas, 501–18. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991.
- . "Social Changes among the Caddo Indians in the 16th and 17th Centuries." In *Transformation of the Southeastern Indians, 1540–1760*, edited by Robbie Ethridge and Charles Hudson, 249–70. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2002.
- Piker, Joshua. *Okfuskee: A Creek Town in Colonial America*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004.
- Pluckhahn, Thomas J., Robbie Ethridge, Jerald Milanich, and Marvin Smith. "Introduction." In *Light on the Path: The Anthropology and History of the Southeastern Indians*, edited by Thomas J. Pluckhahn and Robbie Ethridge, 1–24. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2006.
- Pollack, David. *Caborn-Welborn: Constructing a New Society after the Angel Chiefdom Collapse*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004.
- Priestly, Herbert I., ed. and trans. *The Luna Papers: Documents Relating to the Expedition of Don Tritán de Luna y Arellano for the Conquest of La Florida in 1559–1561*. 2 vols. Deland: The Florida State Historical Society, 1928.

- Rafferty, Janet. "Continuity in Woodland and Mississippian Settlement Patterning in Northeast Mississippi." *Southeastern Archaeology* 15 (1996): 230–43.
- . *Owl Creek Mounds: Test Excavations at a Vacant Mississippian Mound Center*. Cobb Institute of Archaeology, Report of Investigations, no. 7, Mississippi State University, 1995.
- . "Prehistoric Settlement Patterning on the Mississippi Black Prairie." In *Blackland Prairies of the Gulf Coastal Plain: Nature, Culture, and Sustainability*, edited by Evan Peacock and Tim Schauwecker, 167–93. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003.
- . "A Seriation of Chickasaw Pottery from Northeast Mississippi." *Journal of Alabama Archaeology* 4 (1995): 180–207.
- . "Woodland Period Settlement Patterning in the Northern Coastal Plain of Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee." In *The Woodland Southeast*, edited by David G. Anderson and Robert C. Mainfort Jr., 204–27. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2002.
- Ramenofsky, Ann E. *Vectors of Death: The Archaeology of European Contact*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987.
- Ramenofsky, Ann E., and Patricia Galloway. "Disease and the Soto Entrada." In *The Hernando De Soto Expedition: History, Historiography and "Discovery" in the Southeast*, edited by Patricia Galloway, 259–79. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997.
- Ramsey, William L. "'All and Singular the Slaves': A Demographic Profile of Indian Slavery in Colonial South Carolina." In *Money, Trade, and Power: The Evolution of a Planter Society in Colonial South Carolina*, edited by Jack P. Greene, Rosemary Brana-Shute, and Randy Sparks, 166–86. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2001.
- . *The Yamasee War: A Study of Culture, Economy, and Conflict in the Colonial South*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008.
- Rangel, Rodrigo. "Account of the Northern Conquest and Discovery of Hernando de Soto." In *The De Soto Chronicles: The Expedition of Hernando de Soto to North America in 1539–1543*, vol. 1, edited by Lawrence A. Clayton, Vernon J. Knight Jr., and Edward C. Moore and translated by John E. Worth, 247–306. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1993.
- Rankin, Robert L. "Language Affiliations of Some de Soto Place Names in Arkansas." In *The Expedition of Hernando de Soto West of the Mississippi, 1541–1543*, 210–21. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1983.
- . "Linguistic Evidence for the Earlier Location of the Ofo." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Conference on American Indian Languages, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1979.
- Reding, Katherine. "Plans for the Colonization and Defense of Apalache, 1675." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 9 (June 1925): 169–75.
- Rees, Mark A. "Coercion, Tribute, and Chiefly Authority: The Regional Development of Mississippian Political Culture." *Southeastern Archaeology* 16, no. 2 (1997): 113–33.
- . "Plaquemine Mounds of the Western Atchafalaya Basin." In *Plaquemine Archaeology*, edited by Mark A. Rees and Patrick C. Livingood, 66–93. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2007.
- . "Subsistence Economy and Political Culture in the Protohistoric Central Mississippi Valley." In *Between Contacts and Colonies: Archaeological Perspectives on the Protohistoric Southeast*, edited by Cameron B. Wesson and Mark A. Rees, 170–98. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2002.

- Rees, Mark A., and Patrick C. Livingood, eds. *Plaquemine Archaeology*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2007.
- Reid, John Phillip. *A Law of Blood: The Primitive Law of the Cherokee Nation*. New York: New York University Press, 1970.
- Regnier, Amanda R. "An Examination of the Social Composition of Late Mississippian Towns in the Alabama River Valley through Ceramic Styles." Ph.D. diss., University of Alabama, 2006.
- . "A Stylistic Analysis of Burial Urns from the Protohistoric Period in Central Alabama." *Southeastern Archaeology* 25, no. 1 (2006): 121–34.
- . "Tracing the Roots of the Creek Confederacy: The Late Mississippian and Protohistoric Periods in the Alabama River Valley." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Plains Anthropological Conference, Norman, Oklahoma, October 1–17, 2009.
- . "What Indian Pottery of Sixteenth-Century Central Alabama Looks Like and Why It Matters." In *The Search for Mabila: The Decisive Battle between Hernando de Soto and Chief Tascalusa*, edited Vernon James Knight Jr., 83–93. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2009.
- Reilly, F. Kent, III. "People of Earth, People of Sky: Visualizing the Sacred in Native American Art of the Mississippian Period." In *Ancient Objects and Sacred Realms: Interpretations of Mississippian Iconography*, edited by F. Kent Reilly III and James F. Garber, 125–38. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007.
- Reilly, F. Kent, III, and James F. Garber. "Introduction." In *Ancient Objects and Sacred Realms: Interpretations of Mississippian Iconography*, edited by F. Kent Reilly III and James F. Garber, 1–7. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007.
- , eds. *Ancient Objects and Sacred Realms: Interpretations of Mississippian Iconography*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007.
- Rice, James D. *Nature and History in the Potomac Country: From Hunters-Gatherers to the Age of Jefferson*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009.
- Richter, Daniel K. *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992.
- Riggs, Brett. "Reconsidering Chestowee." In *"One of the Other Nations": Yuchi Indian Histories before the Removal Era*, edited by Jason Baird Jackson. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, forthcoming.
- Rivers, William J. *A Sketch of the History of South Carolina to the Close of the Proprietary Government by the Revolution of 1719*. Spartanburg, S.C.: The Reprint Company, 1972.
- Rodning, Christopher B. "Reconstructing the Coalescence of Cherokee Communities in Southern Appalachia." In *The Transformations of the Southeastern Indians, 1540–1760*, edited by Robbie Ethridge and Charles Hudson, 307–46. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2002.
- Rostlund, Erhard. "The Geographic Range of the Historic Bison in the Southeast." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 50 (1960): 395–407.
- Rountree, Helen C. *The Powhatan Indians of Virginia: The Traditional Culture*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989.
- . "Trouble Coming Southward: Emanations through and from Virginia, 1607–1675." In *The Transformations of the Southeastern Indians, 1540–1760*, edited by Robbie Ethridge and Charles Hudson, 65–78. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2002.
- Rowland, Dunbar, and Albert Sanders, eds. and trans. *Mississippi Provincial Archives*:

- French Dominion*. Vols. 1–3. Jackson, Miss.: Department of Archives and History, 1927–32.
- Rowland, Dunbar, Albert Sanders, and Patricia Galloway, eds. and trans. *Mississippi Provincial Archives: French Dominion, 1729–1748*. Vol. 4. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1984.
- Rudes, Blair A., Thomas J. Blumer, and J. Alan May. “Catawba and Neighboring Groups.” In *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 14, *Southeast*, edited by Raymond D. Fogelson, 301–18. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 2004.
- Rushforth, Brett. “‘A Little Flesh We Offer You’: The Origins of Indian Slavery in New France.” *William and Mary Quarterly* 60, no. 4 (2003): 777–808.
- . “Slavery, the Fox Wars, and the Limits of Alliance.” *William and Mary Quarterly* 63, no. 1 (2006): 53–80.
- Sabo, George. “The Quapaw Indians of Arkansas, 1673–1803.” In *Indians of the Greater Southeast: Historical Archaeology and Ethnohistory*, edited by Bonnie G. McEwan, 178–203. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000.
- Sainsburg, W. Noel, ed. *Records in the British Public Records Office Relating to South Carolina, 1663–1782*. 36 vols. Columbia: South Carolina Archives and History Center, 1928–47.
- Saint-Cosme, J. F. Buisson. “Letter to the Bishop of Quebec, 1699.” In *Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi by Cavalier, St. Cosme, Le Suer, Gravier, and Guignas*, edited by John Gilmary Shea, 45–75. Albany: Joel Munsell, 1861. Reprint, Albany, N.Y.: Joseph McDonough, 1908.
- St. Jean, Wendy. “Trading Paths: Chickasaw Diplomacy in the Greater Southeast, 1690s–1790s.” Ph.D. diss., University of Connecticut, 2004.
- Salley, Alexander S., ed. *Journal of the Commons House of Assembly*. 21 vols. Columbia: Historical Commission of South Carolina, 1907–49.
- , ed. *Records in the British Public Records Office Relating to South Carolina*. 2 vols. Atlanta: Foote and Davis, 1928–29.
- Saunders, Rebecca. “The Guale Indians of the Lower Atlantic Coast: Change and Continuity.” In *Indians of the Greater Southeast: Historical Archaeology and Ethnohistory*, edited by Bonnie G. McEwan, 26–56. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000.
- . “Seasonality, Sedentism, Subsistence, and Disease in the Protohistoric: Archaeological versus Ethnohistoric Data along the Lower Atlantic Coast.” In *Between Contacts and Colonies: Archaeological Perspectives on the Protohistoric Southeast*, edited by Cameron B. Wesson and Mark A. Rees, 32–48. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2002.
- Sauvole, Sieur de. *The Journal of Sauvole*. Edited by Prieur Jay Higginbotham. Mobile, Ala.: Colonial Books, 1969.
- Scarry, John F., ed. *Political Structure and Change in the Prehistoric Southeastern United States*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996.
- . “The Rise, Transformation, and Fall of Apalachee: A Case Study of Political Change in a Chiefly Society.” In *Lamar Archaeology: Mississippian Chiefdoms of the Deep South*, edited by Mark Williams and Gary Shapiro, 175–86. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1990.
- Scarry, John F., and Mintcy D. Maxham. “Elite Actors in the Protohistoric: Elite Identities and Interaction with Europeans in the Apalachee and Powhatan Chiefdoms.” In *Between Contacts and Colonies: Archaeological Perspectives on the Protohistoric Southeast*, edited

- by Cameron B. Wesson and Mark A. Rees, 140–69. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2002.
- . “Political Offices and Political Structures: Ethnohistoric and Archaeological Perspectives on the Native Lords of Apalachee.” In *Lords of the Southeast: Social Inequality and Native Elites of Southeastern North America*, edited by Alex W. Barker and Timothy R. Pauketat, 163–83. Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association, no. 3, 1992.
- Schroedl, Gerald F. “Cherokee Ethnohistory and Archaeology from 1540 to 1838.” In *Indians of the Greater Southeast: Historical Archaeology and Ethnohistory*, edited by Bonnie G. McEwan, 204–41. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000.
- Shefveland, Kristalyn. “Hidden in Plain View: Indian Slavery in the Colonial Records of Virginia.” Paper presented at the Third Virginia Forum, Fredericksburg, Va., 2008.
- . “Wholly Subjected? Anglo-Indian Interaction in Colonial Virginia, 1646–1718.” Ph.D. diss., University of Mississippi, 2010.
- Sheldon, Craig T., Jr. “Introduction.” In *The Southern and Central Alabama Expeditions of Clarence Bloomfield Moore*, edited by Craig T. Sheldon, 1–114. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2001.
- . “The Present State of Archaeological Survey and Site File Data for the Alabama River and Adjacent Regions.” In *The Search for Mabila: The Decisive Battle between Hernando de Soto and Chief Tascalusa*, edited by Vernon James Knight Jr., 107–28. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2009.
- Shoemaker, Nancy. “How Indians Got to Be Red.” *American Historical Review* 102 (1997): 625–44.
- Shuck-Hall, Sheri M. “Alabama and Couthatta Diaspora and Coalescence in the Mississippian Shatter Zone.” In *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South*, edited by Robbie Ethridge and Sheri M. Shuck-Hall, 250–71. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009.
- . *A Journey to the West: The Alabama and Couthatta Indians*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009.
- Smith, Marvin T. “Aboriginal Depopulation in the Postcontact Southeast.” In *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521–1704*, edited by Charles Hudson and Carmen Chaves Tesser, 257–75. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994.
- . “Aboriginal Population Movements in the Early Historic Period Southeast.” In *Powhatan’s Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast*, edited by Peter H. Wood, Gregory A. Waselkov, and M. Thomas Hatley, 21–43. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989.
- . “Aboriginal Population Movements in the Postcontact Southeast.” In *The Transformation of the Southeastern Indians, 1540–1760*, edited by Robbie Ethridge and Charles Hudson, 3–21. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2002.
- . *Archaeology of Aboriginal Culture Change in the Interior Southeast: Depopulation during the Early Historic Period*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1987.
- . *Coosa: The Rise and Fall of a Mississippian Chiefdom*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000.
- Smith, Marvin T., and David J. Hally. “Chiefly Behavior: Evidence from Sixteenth-Century Spanish Accounts.” *Archaeology Papers of the American Anthropological Association* 3, no. 1 (1992): 99–109.
- Snow, Dean R., and Kim A. Lamphear. “European Contact and Indian Depopulation in the Northeast: The Timing of the First Epidemics.” *Ethnohistory* 35, no. 1 (1988): 15–33.



- Snyder, Christina. "Conquered Enemies, Adopted Kin, and Owned People: The Creek Indians and Their Captives." *Journal of Southern History* 73, no. 2 (2007): 255–88.
- . *Slavery in Indian Country: The Changing Face of Captivity in Early America*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010.
- Solis, Carlos, and Richard Walling. *Archaeological Investigations at the Yarborough Site [22Cl814], Clay County, Mississippi*. Office of Archaeological Research. Report of Investigations, no. 30. University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, 1982.
- Source, Thaumur de la. "Letter of Mr. Thaumur de la Source." In *Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi by Cavalier, St. Cosme, Le Sueur, Gravier, and Guignas*, edited by John Gilmary Shea, 79–81. Albany, N.Y.: Joel Munsell, 1861; reprinted 1902.
- Stannard, David E. "Disease and Infertility: A New Look at the Demographic Collapse of Native Populations in the Wake of Western Contact." *Journal of American Studies* 24, no. 3 (1990): 325–50.
- Starna, William A., and Ralph Watkins. "Northern Iroquoian Slavery." *Ethnohistory* 38, no. 1 (1991): 34–57.
- Steponaitis, Vincas P. "Contrasting Patterns of Mississippian Development." In *Chiefdoms: Power, Economy, and Ideology*, edited by Timothy K. Earle, 193–228. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- . "Location Theory and Complex Chiefdoms: A Mississippian Example." In *Mississippian Settlement Patterns*, edited by Bruce Smith, 417–53. New York: Academic Press, 1978.
- Steponaitis, Vincas P., and Vernon J. Knight Jr. "Moundville Art in Historical and Social Context." In *Hero, Hawk, and Open Hand: American Indian Art of the Ancient Midwest and South*, edited by Richard F. Townsend and Robert V. Sharp, 167–82. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press for the Art Institute of Chicago, 2004.
- Stewart, John. "Letters from John Stewart to William Dunlop." *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 32, no. 1 (1932): 1–33, 81–114, 170–74.
- Stojanowski, Christopher M. "The Bioarchaeology of Identity in Spanish Colonial Florida: Social and Evolutionary Transformation before, during, and after Demographic Collapse." *American Anthropologist*, n.s., 107, no. 3 (2005): 417–31.
- . *Biocultural Histories in La Florida: A Bioarchaeological Perspective*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005.
- . "Population History of Native Groups in Pre- and Post-Contact Spanish Florida: Aggregation, Gene Flow, and Genetic Drift on the Southeastern U.S. Atlantic Coast." *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 123, no. 4 (2004): 316–32.
- Stubbs, John. "The Chickasaw Contact with the La Salle Expedition in 1682." In *La Salle and His Legacy: Frenchmen and Indians in the Lower Mississippi Valley*, edited by Patricia K. Galloway, 41–48. Jackson, University Press of Mississippi, 1982.
- Swanton, John R. *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors*. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 73, 1921. Reprint, Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998.
- . *The Indians of the Southeastern United States*. 1946. Grosse Point, Mich.: Scholarly Press, 1969.
- . *Indian Tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley and Adjacent Coast of the Gulf of Mexico*. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 43. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1911.
- . "New Light on the Early History of the Siouan Peoples." *Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences* 13, no. 3 (1923): 33–43.
- . *Social and Religious Beliefs and Usages of the Chickasaw Indians*. Bureau of American

- Ethnology Forty-fourth Annual Report. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1928.
- . *Source Material on the History and Ethnology of the Caddo Indians*. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 132. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1942. Reprint, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996.
- . "The Tawasa Language." *American Anthropologist*, n.s., 31, no. 3 (1929): 435–53.
- Tanner, Helen Hornbeck. *Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987.
- . "Hypothesis: Consequences of Indian Long-Distance Travel." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Society for Ethnohistory, Quebec City, 2002.
- . "The Land and Water Communication Systems of the Southeastern Indians." In *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast*, edited by Peter H. Wood, Gregory A. Waselkov, and Thomas M. Hatley, 6–20. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989.
- Thornton, Russell, Tim Miller, and Jonathan Warren. "American Indian Population Recovery Following Smallpox Epidemics." *American Anthropologist*, n.s., 93, no. 1 (1991): 28–45.
- Tonti [Tonty], Henri de. "Extract from a Letter from M. de Tonti to M. d'Iberville, from the Village of the Chacta, February 23, 1702, and Extract from another letter from the same to the same, From the Chacta, March 14, 1702." Translated by Patricia K. Galloway. In *La Salle and His Legacy: Frenchmen and Indians in the Lower Mississippi Valley*, edited by Patricia K. Galloway, 166–73. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1982.
- . "Henri Tonty Letters." Originally published in "Tonti, Henri de," *Mid-America* 21 (1939): 209–38, edited by John Delanglez. Facsimile available online at the Ohio Valley–Great Lakes Ethnohistory Archives: The Miami Collection 1700–1703, <<http://www.gbl.indiana.edu/archives/miamis4/miamitoc6.html>>. Accessed May 25, 2010.
- . "Letter of Henri de Tonti, July 23, 1682." In *The Franciscan Père Marquette: A Critical Biography of Father Zénobe Membré, O.F.M. La Salle's Chaplain and Missionary Companion 1645(ca.)–1689*, by Marion A. Habig, 215–29. *Franciscan Studies*, no. 13. New York: Joseph F. Wagner, Inc., 1934.
- . "Mémorial by the Sieur De La Tonty, Mémorial sent in 1693." In *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, vol. 1, edited and translated by B. F. French, 52–78. New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1846.
- . "Relation of Henri de Tonty Concerning the Explorations of La Salle, 1678–1683." Translated by Melville B. Anderson. Chicago: The Caxton Club, 1898.
- . "Tonty's Account of the Route from Illinois, by the River Mississippi, to the Gulf of Mexico." In *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, vol. 1, edited and translated by B. F. French, 82–83. New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1846.
- Townsend, Richard F., and Robert V. Sharp, eds. *Hero, Hawk, and Open Hand: American Indian Art of the Ancient Midwest and South*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press in association with the Art Institute of Chicago, 2004.
- Turner, E. Randolph. "Socio-Political Organization with the Powhatan Chiefdoms and the Effects of European Contact, AD 1607–1646." In *Cultures in Contact: The European Impact on Native American Cultural Institutions, AD 1000–1800*, edited by William W. Fitzhugh, 193–224. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1985.
- Usner, Daniel H., Jr. "American Indians in Colonial New Orleans." In *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast*, edited by Peter H. Wood, Gregory A. Waselkov, and M. Thomas Hatley, 102–27. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989.

- . *American Indians in the Lower Mississippi Valley: Social and Economic Histories*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998.
- Van Horne, Wayne. "The Warclub: Weapon and Symbol in Southeastern Indian Societies." Ph.D. diss., University of Georgia, 1993.
- Vehik, Susan C. "Cultural Continuity and Discontinuity in the Southern Prairies and Cross Timbers." In *Plains Indians, AD 500–1500*, edited by Karl H. Schlesier, 239–63. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994.
- . "Problems and Potential in Plains Indian Demography." In *Plains Indian Historical Demography and Health: Perspectives, Interpretations, and Critiques*, edited by Gregory R. Campbell, 115–25. Plains Anthropologist Memoir, no. 23, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1989.
- Waddell, Gene. "Cofitachequi: A Distinctive Culture, Its Identity, and Its Location." *Ethnohistory* 52 (2005): 333–69.
- . "Cusabo." In *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 14, *Southeast*, edited by Raymond D. Fogelson, 254–64. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 2004.
- Wagner, Mark. "Visions of Other Worlds: Native American Rock Art in Illinois." Online at <[http://virtual.parkland.edu/ias/publications/Illinois\\_Rock\\_Art/ISMrockartA.htm](http://virtual.parkland.edu/ias/publications/Illinois_Rock_Art/ISMrockartA.htm)>. Accessed June 1, 2010.
- Ward, H. Trawick, and R. P. Stephen Davis Jr. "The Impact of Old World Diseases on the Native Inhabitants of the North Carolina Piedmont." *Archaeology of Eastern North America* 19 (1991): 171–81.
- . *Indian Communities on the North Carolina Piedmont, AD 1000 to 1700*. University of North Carolina, Research Laboratories of Anthropology, monograph no. 2, Chapel Hill, 1993.
- . *Time before History: The Archaeology of North Carolina*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.
- . "Tribes and Traders on the North Carolina Piedmont, A.D. 1000–1710." In *Societies in Eclipse: Archaeology of the Eastern Woodlands Indians, A.D. 1400–1700*, edited by Davis S. Brose, C. Wesley Cowan, and Robert C. Mainfort Jr., 125–41. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2000.
- Warren, Stephen, and Randolph Noe. "'The Greatest Travelers in America': Shawnee Survival in the Shatter Zone." In *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South*, edited by Robbie Ethridge and Sheri M. Shuck-Hall, 163–87. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009.
- Waselkov, Gregory A. "Indian Maps of the Colonial Southeast." In *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast*, edited by Peter H. Wood, Gregory A. Waselkov, and M. Thomas Hatley, 292–343. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989.
- . "The Macon Trading House and Early European-Indian Contact in the Colonial Southeast." In *Ocmulgee Archaeology, 1936–1986*, edited by David J. Hally, 190–96. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994.
- . *Old Mobile Archaeology*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999.
- . "Seventeenth-Century Trade in the Colonial Southeast." *Southeastern Archaeology* 8 (1989): 117–33.
- Waselkov, Gregory A., Linda Derry, and Ned J. Jenkins. "The Archaeology of Mabila's Cultural Landscape." In *The Search for Mabila: The Decisive Battle between Hernando de Soto and Chief Tascalusa*, edited by Vernon James Knight Jr., 227–44. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2009.
- Waselkov, Gregory A., and Ashley A. Dumas. "Archaeological Clues to a Seventeenth-

- Century Pan-Southeastern Revitalization Movement." Paper presented at the Southeastern Archaeological Conference, Mobile, Alabama, 2009.
- Waseklov, Gregory A., and Bonnie L. Gums. *Plantation Archaeology at Rivière aux Chiens, ca. 1725–1848*. University of South Alabama Archeological Monograph 7. Report submitted to the Alabama Department of Transportation by the University of South Alabama, Center for Archaeological Studies, Mobile, 2000.
- Waseklov, Gregory A., and Marvin T. Smith. "Upper Creek Archaeology." In *Indians of the Greater Southeast: Historical Archaeology and Ethnohistory*, edited by Bonnie G. McEwan, 242–64. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000.
- Wenhold, Lucy L., trans. *A Seventeenth-Century Letter of Gabriel Díaz Vara Calderón, Bishop of Cuba, Describing the Indians and Indian Missions of Florida*. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections 95, no. 16. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1936.
- Wesson, Cameron B. "Chiefly Power and Food Storage in Southeastern North America." *World Archaeology* 31, no. 1 (1999): 145–64.
- . *Households and Hegemony: Early Creek Prestige Goods, Symbolic Capital, and Social Power*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008.
- . "Prestige Goods, Symbolic Capital, and Social Power in the Protohistoric Southeast." In *Between Contacts and Colonies: Archaeological Perspectives on the Protohistoric Southeast*, edited by Cameron B. Wesson and Mark A. Rees, 110–25. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2002.
- White, Richard. *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Whitehead, Neil. "Tribes Make States and States Make Tribes." In *War in the Tribal Zone: Expanding States and Indigenous Warfare*, 2nd ed., edited by R. Brian Ferguson and Neil L. Whitehead, 127–50. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1999.
- Williams, Mark. "Growth and Decline of the Oconee Province." In *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521–1704*, edited by Charles Hudson and Carmen Chaves Tesser, 179–96. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994.
- . "Paired Towns." In *Lamar Archaeology: Mississippian Chiefdoms in the Deep South*, edited by Mark Williams and Gary Shapiro, 163–74. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1990.
- Williams, Stephen. "The Vacant Quarter and Other Late Events in the Lower Valley." In *Towns and Temples along the Mississippi*, edited by David H. Dye and Cheryl Anne Cox, 170–81. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1990.
- . "The Vacant Quarter Hypothesis and the Yazoo Delta." In *Societies in Eclipse: Archaeology of the Eastern Woodlands, A.D. 1400–1700*, edited by David S. Brose, C. Wesley Cowan, and Robert C. Mainfort Jr., 191–204. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001.
- . "On the Location of the Historic Taensa Villages." *Fifth Conference on Historic Site Archaeology Papers* 1 (1965–66): 2–13.
- Witgen, Michael. "Narratives of Discovery and the Cultural Geography of the New World." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, New York, N.Y., 2009.
- Wolf, Eric. *Europe and the People without History*. 1982. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.
- Wood, Abraham. "Letter of Abraham Wood to John Richards." In *The First Explorations of the Trans-Alleghany Region by Virginians, 1650–1674*, edited by Clarence W. Alvord and Lee Bidgood, 210–33. Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1912.

- Wood, Peter H. "The Changing Population of the Colonial South: An Overview by Race and Region." In *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast*, edited by Peter H. Wood, Gregory Waselkov, and M. Thomas Hatley, 35–103. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989.
- Woodward, Henry. "A Faithfull Relation of My Westoe Voiage Was Written in December 1674." In *Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650–1708*, edited by Alexander S. Salley, 125–34. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911.
- Worth, John E. "Bridging Prehistory and History in the Southeast: Evaluating the Utility of the Acculturation Concept." In *Light on the Path: The Anthropology and History of the Southeastern Indians*, edited by Thomas J. Pluckhahn and Robbie Ethridge, 196–206. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2006.
- . "Late Spanish Military Expeditions in the Interior Southeast, 1597–1628." In *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521–1704*, edited by Charles Hudson and Carmen Chaves Tesser, 104–22. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994.
- . "An Ethnohistorical Synthesis of Southeastern Chiefdoms: How Does Coosa Compare?" Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southeastern Archaeological Conference, Charlotte, N.C., 2003.
- . "The Lower Creeks: Origins and Early History." In *Indians of the Greater Southeast: Historical Archaeology and Ethnohistory*, edited by Bonnie G. McEwan, 265–98. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000.
- . "On the Yuchi of the Contact Era." In *"One of the Other Nations": Yuchi Indian History before the Removal Era*, edited by Jason Baird Jackson. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, forthcoming.
- . "Razing Florida: The Indian Slave Trade and the Devastation of Spanish Florida, 1659–1715." In *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South*, edited by Robbie Ethridge and Sheri M. Shuck-Hall, 295–311. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009.
- . "Spanish Missions and the Persistence of Chieftly Power." In *The Transformation of the Southeastern Indians, 1540–1760*, edited by Robbie Ethridge and Charles Hudson, 39–64. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2002.
- . *The Struggle for the Georgia Coast: An Eighteenth-Century Spanish Retrospective on Guala and Mocama*. Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, no. 75. New York, 1995. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2007.
- . *The Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida*. 2 vols. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998.
- . "Yamasee." In *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 14, *Southeast*, edited by Raymond D. Fogelson, 245–53. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 2004.

## Index

- Abihkas, 81, 112, 113–14, 203, 204, 211, 221, 229, 234, 235, 238, 242, 243, 244, 249, 289 (n. 68), 291 (n. 94); as slave raiders, 163, 164, 166, 168, 171, 181, 197, 199, 209, 235, 241. *See also* Coosa; Creeks
- Alabama-Coushattas. *See* Alabamas
- Alabama River phase, 67–68, 69. *See also* Creeks; Tascalusa
- Alabamas, 69, 81, 112, 113, 162, 163, 164, 166, 195, 203, 204, 205, 211, 213, 214, 229, 238, 239, 242, 243, 246, 250, 251; as slave raiders, 91, 168, 172, 191, 196, 197, 209, 215, 216, 235, 236, 241; and French, 206, 211–14, 219; and English, 211, 214, 215, 220, 221, 234, 235. *See also* Alimamu; Coushattas; Creeks
- Algonquian language, 102
- Alimamu, 36, 37, 39, 50, 51, 56, 60, 61, 75–77, 84, 264 (n. 48), 268 (n. 34); and battle with Soto, 56–59. *See also* Alabamas; Chicaza; Lyon's Bluff site
- Altamaha, 79–81, 99, 100, 162, 215. *See also* Ocute; Yamasees
- Anlico, 119, 120, 121, 127, 129, 148. *See also* Mississippi River valley Indians: chiefdoms of; Mississippi River valley Indians: collapse of chiefdoms
- Apafalaya, 29, 30, 33, 40, 69, 77, 84. *See also* Moundville
- Apalachees, 5, 61, 71, 78, 81, 82, 85, 100, 164, 165, 166, 170, 203–4, 206, 215, 221, 233, 248, 249, 250; destruction of, 207–11; on Savannah River, 210, 235, 242, 244. *See also* Spanish Florida
- Apalachicolas, 74, 79, 81, 85, 100, 112, 113, 154, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 173, 206, 235, 238, 241, 243, 244; as slave raiders, 206, 209, 236, 241; and destruction of Spanish Florida, 206–7. *See also* Chattahoochee chiefdoms; Cowetas; Creeks; Cussitas; Hitchitis; Ochesee Creeks
- Aquijo, 117, 126, 127. *See also* Mississippi River valley Indians: chiefdoms of; Mississippi River valley Indians: collapse of chiefdoms
- Arkansas Indians. *See* Quapaws
- Arkansas Post, 150, 180, 283 (n. 3), 290 (n. 91)
- Battle of Chicaza. *See* Chicaza: battle of
- Bayougoulas, 140, 144, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 181, 183, 184, 185, 189, 190, 217, 218, 234, 247. *See also* Gulf coast Indians
- Bienville, Jean Baptist le Moyne, 170, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 181, 182, 184, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 192, 195, 202, 204, 205, 206, 211, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217,

- 218, 220, 222, 229, 233, 234, 247, 248, 249. *See also* France; d'Iberville, Pierre le Moyne
- Biloxis, 173, 174, 175, 176, 181, 189, 218, 236, 247, 248. *See also* Gulf coast Indians
- Birdman, 21, 47; as Morning Star, 23. *See also* Mississippian religious beliefs; Warfare: iconography of
- Bison, 66, 75, 120, 128, 137, 147, 171, 177, 184, 203
- Black Prairie, 31, 32, 34, 55, 69, 74, 114, 153, 256, 266 (n. 22). *See also* Chicaza: location of; Chickasaws: settlement patterns of
- Bottle Creek, 66, 68, 140, 169, 171. *See also* Pensacola culture
- Buffalo. *See* Bison
- Caddoan language, 119, 145
- Caddos, 5, 128–29, 131, 144–47, 148, 179, 190, 218, 250, 252, 292 (n. 114); and western trade, 146–47; and French, 186, 187; and slave raiders, 188, 235. *See also* Cahinnio; Hasinai; Kadohadocho; Naguateg; Natchitoches; Ouichitas
- Cahinnio, 146, 147, 235. *See also* Caddos
- Cahokia, 3, 16, 47, 54
- Caluça, 26, 37, 38, 40. *See also* Quigualtam
- Calumet ceremony, 117, 130–31, 138, 154, 175, 177, 181, 184, 185, 189, 211, 228 *See also* Fanimingo
- Cannibalism, 140, 141, 220
- Cape Fear Indians, 108. *See also* Low country Indians
- Capinans, 173, 174, 175, 181, 218, 236, 247. *See also* Gulf coast Indians
- Capitalism. *See* Global economic system
- Captives: from war, 53–54, 91, 160, 184–85, 195, 199, 213, 218, 221, 239–40; and Juan Ortiz, 53–54; as slaves, 145, 115, 222, 226–27, 236–37. *See also* Indian slave trade; Warfare
- Cashie phase. *See* Tuscaroras
- Casqui, 53, 61, 118, 148. *See also* Mississippi River valley Indians: chiefdoms of; Mississippi River valley Indians: collapse of chiefdoms
- Cataba. *See* Catawbas
- Catawbas, 2, 104–5, 106, 160, 246, 250, 251, 252; coalescence of, 106, 107 (ill.), 160. *See also* Esaws
- Chacatos, 81, 85, 173, 207, 210, 221, 233, 248. *See also* Gulf coast Indians
- Chakchiumas, 77, 135, 179, 183, 197, 198, 201, 216, 229, 233, 235, 241, 248, 251. *See also* Miculasa; Sacchuma; Yazoo basin Indians
- Charlestown. *See* South Carolina
- Chattahoochee chiefdoms, 26, 71–74. *See also* Apalachicola; Cowetas; Cussitas; Hitchitis
- Chawashas, 175, 218, 247. *See also* Gulf coast Indians
- Cheraws, 160, 246. *See also* Enos; Keyauwees; Saras; Siouan piedmont Indians
- Cherokees, 2, 86, 110–11, 112, 113, 159, 160, 161, 162, 236, 238, 241, 242, 243, 246, 250, 252; and English, 209, 220, 235
- Chiaha, 112, 166, 215
- Chicacilla, 55–56, 263 (n. 42). *See also* Chicaza: battle of
- Chicaza, 3, 5, 11, 12, 26, 29, 79, 117, 125, 154, 224, 229; and Soto, 29–31, 35–41; location of, 31–32, 33, 261 (n. 60), 263 (n. 42), 268 (n. 34); as chiefdom, 33–35; and subordinate polities, 36, 39–40, 41; battle of, 41–44, 51, 53, 54–56, 59; decline of, 60–61; ceramics of, 74–75; migration of, 74–75, 76 (ill.), 114–15; contact with Spanish Florida, 85–86; and disease, 86–88. *See also* Alimamu; Chickasaws; Mississippian chiefdoms; Sacchuma; Tombigbee chiefdoms
- Chickasaws, 1, 2, 3, 8, 9, 74, 75, 113, 130, 133, 134, 135, 139, 167, 173, 174, 176, 179, 181, 183, 206, 209, 214, 232, 236–37, 238, 240, 241, 242, 243, 246, 249, 250, 251, 252, 255, 256, 278 (n. 32), 285 (nn. 16, 17); settlement patterns of, 114–15, 152–54, 204, 222–23, 223 (ill.), 247, 276 (n. 75); and La Salle, 125–26, 128; and Indian trade system, 149–54, 164, 181; as slave raiders, 153, 155, 168, 174, 176, 179–80, 181, 188, 189, 196, 214, 216, 235, 241; and French, 154,

- 188–89, 195, 196, 197–203, 211, 213, 222, 229, 234, 297 (n. 61); and English, 167, 168, 181, 182, 184, 188, 192, 196–98, 211, 212–13, 214, 216, 220, 221, 222, 233, 234, 284 (n. 9), 297 (n. 61); leadership among, 201–2, 224–31; and Choctaws, 202, 214–15, 219, 234, 235–36, 247, 249, 298 (n. 80); and red (war) and white (peace) divisions, 222–31, 249, 298 (nn. 68, 72). *See also* Chicaza; Dual political organization; Indian slave trade; Warfare: during Mississippi Period
- Chiefdoms. *See* Mississippian chiefdoms
- Chiscas, 85, 99, 113, 173, 209, 271 (n. 64)
- Chitimachas, 175, 205, 217, 218, 247. *See also* Gulf coast Indians; Plaquemine culture
- Choctaws, 2, 4, 135, 173, 174, 182, 189, 201, 202, 203, 204, 206, 212, 216, 222, 238, 242, 243, 246, 247, 250, 252; formation of, 190–92, 292 (n. 124); and slave raiders, 192, 198; and English, 192, 220, 221, 233, 234, 235–36; and French, 195, 196, 197, 199, 201, 203, 211, 214–15, 233, 234, 248; and Chickasaws, 202, 214, 235–36, 247, 249, 298 (n. 80)
- Coalescent societies, 2, 9, 100, 106, 146, 160, 161, 190, 197, 224, 228, 229, 238, 239, 250–51, 252, 253, 255, 256, 257 (n. 1), 299 (n. 87), 302 (n. 40). *See also* Mississippian shatter zone
- Cofitachequi, 26, 62, 80, 85, 109; fall of, 104–8, 107 (ill.)
- Colapissas, 141, 177, 181, 188, 189, 190, 217, 218, 234, 247. *See also* Gulf coast Indians; Tangibao
- Congarees, 161, 246. *See also* Low country Indians
- Coosa, 5, 24, 25, 28, 33, 62, 63 (ill.), 84, 85, 111, 112, 113, 162; fall of, 62–66, 69, 86, 100, 105. *See also* Abihkas; Coosa
- Coste, 62, 112, 113, 162. *See also* Coushattas
- Coueurs de bois*, 144, 149–50, 183, 184, 283 (n. 1)
- Coushattas, 112, 113, 162, 163, 165, 211, 239. *See also* Alabamas; Coste
- Couture, Jean, 144, 150, 180, 182–83, 195
- Cowetas, 113, 163, 165, 239; town of, 73, 76, 209, 215, 267 (n. 30). *See also* Apalachicola; Chattahoochee chiefdoms
- Creeks, 2, 5, 71, 73, 74, 153, 239, 244, 246, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252. *See also* Abihkas; Alabamas; Apalachicola; Hitchitis; Okfuskees; Talapoosas; Tascalusa; Yuchis
- Cusabos, 108. *See also* Low country Indians
- Cussitas, 113, 154, 163, 165, 239; town of, 73, 167, 215, 267 (n. 30). *See also* Apalachicola; Chattahoochee chiefdoms
- Dhegiha Siouan language. *See* Siouan language
- Diseases, 4, 64, 79, 89, 105, 108, 140, 160, 168, 169, 171, 174, 178, 180, 181, 182, 185, 187, 188, 189, 192, 213, 221, 237, 238, 241, 242, 244, 246, 248, 254, 276 (n. 2); and Chickasaws, 86–88, 222; and Spanish Florida, 87–88; and Iroquois, 94; and collapse of Mississippi River valley chiefdoms, 116–17, 131, 134, 148; and Caddos, 146, and Great Southeastern Smallpox Epidemic, 157–58, 162
- Dodsworth, Anthony, 167, 168, 180, 182, 190, 195, 198, 207, 293 (n. 11). *See also* England: traders of; Goose Creek Men
- Dual political organization, 24, 32, 171, 191–92, 298 (n. 72), 299 (n. 85); and moieties, 191–92, 224–26, 298 (n. 68); and Chickasaws, 222–31; and fanimingo, 225. *See also* Chickasaws: and red (war) and white (peace) divisions; Fanimingo
- England, 89, 90, 97, 160, 252; traders of, 150–51, 159, 161, 180, 181, 182, 184, 185, 188, 192, 211, 213, 219, 234, 235, 238–39, 284 (n. 9); and Spain, 164–65, 205–11; and Chickasaws, 167, 168, 181, 182, 184, 188, 192, 196–98, 212–13; and imperial strategies, 194–95, 199, 202–3, 211, 214, 219, 221, 239; and westward expansion, 205, 211, 234–35; and Queen Anne's War, 205, 214, 216–17, 219, 220–22,



232–34. *See also* Dodsworth, Anthony; Goose Creek Men; Indian slave trade; Indian trade system; Nairne, Thomas; Queen Anne's War; South Carolina; Stewart, John; Virginia; Welch, Thomas; Woodward, Henry

Enos, 102, 103, 157, 246. *See also* Siouan piedmont Indians

Esaws, 86, 104, 160, 161, 162, 220, 235, 236, 241, 242, 243, 244, 246, 286 (n. 38). *See also* Catawbias; Siouan piedmont Indians

Etowah, 16, 24, 52–53, 62, 66, 70, 71

European trade. *See* England; France; Indian slave trade; Indian trade system; Spanish Florida: and trade with Indians

Fanimingo, 225, 228–30, 240, 251, 299 (n. 85), 299 (n. 87). *See also* Calumet ceremony; Dual political organization

Fort de la Boulaye, 183, 188, 189, 190, 192, 196, 205, 217, 218

Fort Louis, 196, 204, 212, 214, 220, 234, 235. *See also* France; Mobile

Fort Maurepas, 179, 181, 182, 186, 195, 196, 290 (n. 87). *See also* Sauvole, Ensign

France, 89, 90, 97, 116, 168, 204, 246; and Mississippi River, 116–48, 151, 175; and Chickasaws, 154, 155, 188–89, 195, 196, 197–203, 211, 214, 222, 229, 234, 297 (n. 61); missionaries of, 179, 180, 290 (n. 88), 290 (n. 91); and Indian relations, 184, 194–95, 205, 211, 217–18, 222; and Caddos, 186, 187; and imperial strategies, 194, 203; and Choctaws, 195, 197, 199, 201, 203, 211, 214–15, 233, 234, 248; and Indian slave trade, 200–201, 213, 218, 237, 294 (n. 17), 301 (n. 12); and Alabamas, 206, 211–14. *See also* Bienville, Jean Baptist le Moyne; d'Iberville, Pierre le Moyne; Indian trade system; La Salle, René Robert Cavelier; Marquette, Jacques; Mobile; Tonti, Henri de

Global economic system, 4, 89, 90, 232, 238, 252, 253, 254. *See also* Indian slave trade; Indian trade system

Goose Creek Men, 109–10, 155, 161, 168, 198, 205, 211. *See also* Dodsworth, Anthony; England: traders of; Mathews, Maurice; Moore, James; South Carolina; Welch, Thomas

Great Southeastern Smallpox Epidemic. *See* Diseases

Grigras, 135, 216, 248, 249. *See also* Yazoo basin Indians

Guachoya, 119, 120, 121, 127, 129, 133, 134, 148. *See also* Mississippi River valley Indians: chiefdoms of; Mississippi River valley Indians: collapse of chiefdoms

Guales, 61, 78, 79, 80, 81, 99, 100, 111, 161, 162, 163, 207, 209

Guatari, 102, 103, 104, 105–6, 107, 109, 157, 246. *See also* Siouan piedmont Indians

Gulf coast Indians, 122, 140–41, 168–69, 171, 172, 174, 175, 176, 205, 234, 235–36, 253, 302 (n. 37). *See also* Bayougoulas; Biloxis; Capinans; Chacatos; Chawashas; Chitimachas; Colapissas; Little Tohomés; Mobilians; Okelousas; Pascagoulas; Pensacola culture; Pensacolas; Plaquemine culture; Tawasas; Tohomés; Washas; Yanki-Chitos

Guns. *See* Indian trade system: and sale of guns

Hasinai, 146, 187, 250. *See also* Caddos

Hitchitis, 73, 74, 86, 165, 166, 236, 239, 244; and Stewart phase, 71, 72, 83. *See also* Apalachicolas; Chattahoochee chiefdoms; Creeks; Ochese Creeks

Horses. *See* Indian trade system: horses

Houmas, 139, 141, 144, 145, 175, 177, 178, 181, 183, 184, 185, 186, 188, 189, 203, 216–17, 234, 247, 248, 249. *See also* Mississippi River valley Indians: of lower valley; Plaquemine culture

Hughes, Price, 234–35, 247

d'Iberville, Pierre le Moyne, 131, 144, 169, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 180, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 215, 219,

- 222, 229. *See also* Bienville, Jean Baptist le Moyne; France
- Ibitoupas, 135, 179, 216. *See also* Chakchiumas; Yazoo basin Indians
- Illinois Indians, 124, 125, 127, 130, 131–32, 151, 179, 199, 203, 235
- Indian slave trade, 89, 90, 91–92, 93, 117, 131, 149, 150, 151, 160, 168, 170, 171, 180, 188, 189, 192, 213, 221, 238, 239, 241; and Indian warfare, 89, 92–93, 109–10, 131, 155, 184, 194–95, 199, 202–3, 211, 219, 221, 226–27, 234–35, 239, 240–41; and Occaneechis, 97–115; and Westos, 98–115; and inter-Indian trade system, 151–52; and Goose Creek Men, 109–10, 155; and diseases, 157–58; and Queen Anne's War, 194, 195, 205, 232, 233, 234, 235; and imperial rivalries, 194, 205, 234–35; mechanics of, 198, 200–201, 226–28, 236–37; French participation in, 200–201, 213, 218, 237, 294 (n. 17), 301 (n. 12); and destruction of Spanish Florida, 206–11; demography of, 232, 236–41; and Yamasee War, 232–44. *See also* Captives; England; Global economic system; Indian trade system; Militaristic slaving society; South Carolina; Warfare
- Indian trade system, 117, 131; and sale of guns, 90, 92, 112, 114, 123, 124, 127, 132, 142, 147, 150, 151, 152, 153, 161, 164, 165, 171, 182, 183, 188, 192, 194, 196, 197, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 206, 207, 209, 212, 213, 214, 219, 221, 222, 227, 229, 232, 235, 238, 243, 253, 285 (nn. 16, 17); and other goods from, 123, 132, 146–47, 150, 153, 159, 166, 182, 188, 233, 253; and horses, 146, 187–88; for skins, 149, 166, 168, 188, 200, 205, 241, 244, 246, 253, 255; and French, 200, 203; play-off system, 200, 206, 214, 216, 233, 246, 253; regulations of, 221, 239, 241; and Yamasee War, 239, 241, 244. *See also* England; France; Indian slave trade; Spanish Florida; and trade with Indians
- Iroquois, 85, 93–96, 98, 99, 100, 102, 103, 107, 111, 113, 123, 130, 143, 152, 155, 157, 162, 236, 242, 243, 244; language of, 101
- Jamestown, 96–100, 102. *See also* England; Virginia
- Joara, 104, 105, 106, 107, 109, 157. *See also* Saras; Siouan piedmont Indians
- Joliet, Louis, 116, 117, 123, 124, 127, 128, 129, 130, 132, 133, 139, 142, 149
- Joutel, Henri, 133, 144, 146, 150
- Kadohadacho, 144, 146, 235, 250. *See also* Caddos
- Keyauwees, 102, 103, 157, 246. *See also* Siouan piedmont Indians
- Koroas, 132–33, 135, 138, 139, 142–43, 145, 146, 151, 178, 179, 217, 218, 233, 239, 248, 249, 281 (n. 67), 290 (n. 91). *See also* Yazoo basin Indians
- Kussoes, 109–10. *See also* Low country Indians
- La Florida. *See* Spanish Florida
- Lamhatty, 152, 220, 284 (n. 12)
- La Salle, René Robert Cavelier, 117, 128, 129, 131, 133, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 141, 143, 144, 145, 147, 153, 154, 168, 175, 176, 177, 179, 187. *See also* France; Tonti, Henri de
- Lederer, John, 105–6, 107
- Little Tohomés, 171–72, 202, 211, 212, 213, 248. *See also* Gulf coast Indians; Mobilians; Pensacola culture; Tohomés
- Low country Indians, 108, 159, 163, 110, 243, 244, 250, 253, 302 (n. 37); and Indian slave trade, 109–10, 236, 241. *See also* Cape Fear Indians; Congarees; Cusabos; Kussoes; Seeweas; Waccamaws; Winyahs
- Lower Creeks. *See* Creeks
- Lower Trade Path, 167. *See also* Trade Path; Upper Trade Path
- Luna, Tristán de, 62, 64, 67, 140
- Lyon's Bluff site, 34, 75–76, 264 (n. 48), 268 (n. 34). *See also* Alimamu
- Mabila, 26, 28, 29, 35, 50, 55, 56, 66, 67,

70, 169, 268 (n. 31), 288 (n. 63); fall of, 68–69. *See also* Tascalusa

Marquette, Jacques, 116, 117, 123, 124, 127, 128, 129, 130, 132, 133, 139, 143, 149

Matheos, Antonio, 164–65, 206

Mathews, Maurice, 109–10, 275 (n. 60). *See also* Goose Creek Men

Meherrins, 102, 103. *See also* Tuscarroras

Miculasa, 36, 37, 39, 75, 77. *See also*  
Chicaza: and subordinate polities;  
Sacchuma

Militaristic slaving society, 4, 89, 93, 149, 155, 194; Iroquois as, 93–96; Occaneechis as, 97–115; Westos as, 98–115; Chickasaws as, 153, 155, 168; second generation of, 155, 161, 162; Yamasees as, 162–63. *See also* Abihkas: as slave raiders; Alabamas: as slave raiders; Apalachicolas: as slave raiders; Chickasaws: as slave raiders; Occaneechis; Tallapoosas: as slave raiders; Westos; Yamasees: as slave raiders

Mississippian chiefdoms, 2, 5, 12, 13, 44, 250, 253, 258 (n. 3); and hierarchical leadership, 12–15, 16, 17–18, 32, 47–48, 70, 75, 82–84, 137, 141, 146, 252; political structure of, 14–15, 24, 36, 47–49; economies of, 15–16; and cycling of, 17, 18, 35, 61; and simple chiefdoms, 17, 25, 31, 47, 49, 61, 105, 109, 111, 119, 140, 224, 238; and complex chiefdoms, 17, 25, 44, 49, 61; and paramount chiefdoms, 17, 25, 44, 49, 61, 62, 64, 104; and political disruptions, 82–84. *See also* Chicaza; Mississippian religious beliefs; Warfare

Mississippian religious beliefs, 7, 18–25; iconography of, 18, 21, 45–46, 83–84; and warfare, 44, 45–46, 224; institutions of, 45–46, 224; and revitalization movement, 83–84. *See also* Mississippian chiefdoms; Warfare: during Mississippian Period

Mississippian shatter zone, 4, 5, 89, 90, 111, 116, 131, 148, 149, 150, 160, 174, 244, 249–51; western expansion of, 149–93. *See also* Coalescent societies

Mississippian world, 1–2, 4, 5, 9, 12, 13 (ill.), 25, 26, 30, 35, 59, 77, 89, 98, 102, 251, 253, 254, 260 (n. 32), 280 (n. 55); western edge of, 120–21

Mississippi River valley Indians, 116, 195, 276 (n. 1); chiefdoms of, 116–23, 127–34, 149; collapse of chiefdoms, 131–32, 148; of lower valley, 134–48, 149, 187; and English, 205, 215, 222, 234; and slave raids, 216, 222, 234, 235, 238. *See also* Anlico; Aquijo; Casqui; Guachoya; Houmas; Mougoulachas; Natchez; Pacaha; Plaquemine culture; Quapaws; Quigualtam; Quinapissas; Quizquiz; Taensas; Yazoo basin Indians

Mitchigameas, 124, 127, 129, 131, 132, 235, 278 (n. 28)

Mobile, 196, 197, 199, 200, 201, 202, 204, 205, 210, 211, 212, 218, 220, 221, 222, 233, 248, 249. *See also* Fort Louis; France

Mobilians, 69, 169–72, 173, 181, 195, 196, 197, 201, 203, 204, 206, 211, 212, 213, 215, 233, 246, 248, 288 (nn. 63, 68). *See also* Gulf coast Indians; Little Tohomés; Pensacola culture; Tohomés

Mocama, 78, 79, 81, 99, 162, 207, 209

Mocoso, 54

Moieties. *See* Dual political organization

Monongahelas, 103

Moore, James, 205, 207, 209, 210. *See also* Goose Creek Men

Morning Star. *See* Birdman

Moscoso, Luis de, 43, 120, 121, 145

Mosopeleas, 123, 124, 127, 129, 143, 277 (n. 26), 282 (n. 83). *See also* Ofos

Mougoulachas, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 181, 184, 189, 190, 290 (n. 87). *See also* Mississippi River valley Indians

Moundville, 14 (ill.), 16, 24, 29, 32, 33, 48, 66, 68, 69, 70, 71, 140, 169. *See also* Apafalaya

Muskogean language, 74, 102

Myths. *See* Oral traditions

Naguatex, 120, 145. *See also* Caddos

Nairne, Thomas, 167, 168, 206, 211, 216, 220, 221, 222, 224, 226, 227, 228, 229,

- 232, 233, 234, 235, 243. *See also* England: traders of; South Carolina
- Napissas, 176, 179. *See also* Yazoo basin Indians
- Natchez, 5, 46, 48, 148, 153, 175, 179, 180, 182, 185, 186, 187, 197, 203, 216, 217, 218, 229, 230, 239, 246, 248, 249, 250, 251, 281 (n. 67), 290 (n. 91); and La Salle, 123, 129, 135, 136, 137, 138, 141, 142, 143, 145; language of, 136; as chiefdom, 146, 185; and Chickasaws, 185, 188; and English, 185, 192, 233, 234, 235. *See also* Mississippi River valley Indians: of lower valley; Quigualtam
- Natchitoches, 146, 147, 187, 188, 218. *See also* Caddos
- Nottoways, 102, 103. *See also* Tuscaroras
- Oboystabee, 202, 226, 227–28, 233. *See also* Chickasaws: leadership among; Chickasaws: and red (war) and white (peace) divisions; Dual political organization; Warfare: and War Chiefs
- Occaneecheis, 97, 98, 99, 100, 102, 104, 107, 111, 112, 113, 155, 157, 161, 194, 241, 246; and Occaneechi Town, 103, 105, 151, 159. *See also* Indian slave trade; Militaristic slaving society; Siouan piedmont Indians; Virginia
- Ochese Creeks, 165, 166, 206–7. *See also* Apalachicolas; Creeks; Hitchitis
- Ocute, 79–81, 86, 99–100, 286 (n. 40). *See also* Altamaha; Yamasees
- Ofos, 135, 143, 179, 216, 248, 278 (n. 26), 290 (n. 86). *See also* Mosopeleas; Yazoo basin Indians
- Okelousas, 141, 181 (n. 78). *See also* Gulf coast Indians
- Okfuskees, 153, 166–67, 211, 215, 221, 238, 246, 299 (n. 85). *See also* Creeks
- Old World diseases. *See* Diseases
- Onspees, 135, 179. *See also* Yazoo basin Indians
- Oral traditions, 6, 7, 20, 22, 23, 24, 44, 83–84, 129, 132
- Ortiz, Juan, 25, 38, 53–54. *See also* Captives
- Ouichitas, 146, 186, 188. *See also* Caddos
- Pacaha, 61, 118, 127, 132, 148. *See also* Mississippi River valley Indians
- Pardo, Juan, 62, 64, 104–5, 110, 111, 113, 161
- Pascagoulas, 173, 174, 175, 181, 189, 190, 192, 212, 218, 219, 233, 236, 247, 291 (n. 94). *See also* Gulf coast Indians
- Pensacola culture, 26, 140–41, 169, 170, 171, 191. *See also* Bottle Creek site; Gulf coast Indians; Little Tohomés; Mobilians; Tohomés
- Pensacolas, 170, 172, 173, 206, 211, 212, 233, 234, 246, 248. *See also* Gulf coast Indians
- Petites nations*. *See* Gulf coast Indians
- Piachi, 28, 66, 67; fall of, 68–69. *See also* Tascalusa
- Plaquemine culture, 134, 136, 140, 280 (n. 55). *See also* Chitimachas; Gulf coast Indians; Houmas; Mississippi River valley Indians; Natchez
- Powhatan, 96, 97, 250
- Quapaws, 96, 124, 127–28, 131, 132, 133, 137, 139, 143, 144, 145, 148, 149, 150, 152, 154, 167, 168, 179, 180, 203, 217–18, 235, 248, 249, 278 (n. 37), 279 (n. 46), 290 (n. 91), 300 (n. 1); origins of, 129–30; and English, 182–83, 192, 221, 233, 235. *See also* Mississippi River valley Indians
- Queen Anne's War, 194, 195, 205, 232, 233, 234, 235. *See also* England; South Carolina; Warfare: and Indian slave trade
- Quigualtam, 5, 38, 120, 121–22, 133, 134, 135. *See also* Caluça; Mississippi River valley Indians: chiefdoms of; Natchez
- Quinipissas, 131, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 290 (n. 87). *See also* Mississippi River valley Indians: of lower valley
- Quizquiz, 40, 41, 59, 61, 117, 126, 127. *See also* Mississippi River valley Indians: chiefdoms of
- Red and white moieties. *See* Dual political organization

Religion. *See* Mississippian religious beliefs

Ru, Paul du, 178, 183–84, 185, 189

Sacchuma, 39, 40, 41, 51, 61, 77, 229, 268 (n. 34). *See also* Chakchumias; Chicaza; and subordinate polities; Miculasa

Saponis, 98, 102, 103, 157, 246. *See also* Siouan piedmont Indians; Tutelos

Saras, 103, 106, 157, 159, 246. *See also* Joara; Siouan piedmont Indians  
Sauvole, Ensign, 179, 181, 182, 184, 189, 192, 195. *See also* Fort Maurepas

Savannah River Apalachees. *See* Apalachees

Savannah River Shawnees. *See* Shawnees

Seeweels, 108. *See also* Low country Indians

Settlement Indians. *See* Low country Indians

Shakoris, 102, 103, 157, 246. *See also* Siouan piedmont Indians

Shatter zone. *See* Mississippian shatter zone

Shawnees, 86, 96, 145, 155, 160, 179, 246; Savannah River Shawnees, 152, 160, 161, 162, 235, 236, 242, 244; language of, 198

Siouan language, 123, 174; and Dhegiha Siouan, 127–28, 129, 179 (n. 40)

Siouan piedmont Indians, 235, 236, 242, 243, 246; and Siouan-Catawban language, 102. *See also* Cheraws; Enos; Esaws; Guatari; Joara; Keyauwees; Occaneechis; Saponis; Saras; Shakoris; Sissipahaws; Sugarees; Tutelos; Usherys; Waxhaws

Sissipahaws, 102, 103, 157, 246. *See also* Siouan piedmont Indians

Skin trade. *See* Indian trade system: for skins

Slaves. *See* Captives; Indian slave trade

Slave trade. *See* Indian slave trade

Soto, Hernando de, 2, 11, 16, 25, 26, 28, 35, 53, 80, 89, 104, 105, 110, 111, 113, 117, 146, 161, 190, 192, 201, 224, 244, 252; at Chicaza, 30–31, 35–41, 258 (n. 2); and

battle of Chicaza, 41–44, 54–56; and decline of Chicaza, 60–62; at Mississippi River, 119–23, 131, 132, 135, 139, 145

South Carolina: and Indian trade, 109–11, 159, 160–61, 162, 166, 171; and westward expansion, 154–55, 167–68, 184, 185, 195, 234–35; and Indian alliances, 155, 160, 163, 194–95; and Chickasaws, 167, 168, 181, 182, 184; and Choctaws, 192. *See also* England; Goose Creek Men; Indian slave trade; Indian trade system; Nairne, Thomas; Queen Anne's War

Spanish Florida, 127, 151, 170, 195, 244, 250; and mission strategy, 78–79; and Indian health, 79; and interior Indians, 79–87; and trade with Indians, 82–87, 112, 114, 164, 166, 207; and diseases, 87–88; and movement of refugees into, 100; and English, 164–65; destruction of, 205–11, 220–21. *See also* Apalachees; Moore, James; Queen Anne's War; Timucuan

Spanish missions. *See* Spanish Florida

Stewart, John, 167, 287 (n. 56)

Stewart phase. *See* Hitchitis; and Stewart phase

Sugarees, 104, 160. *See also* Siouan piedmont Indians

Suhures. *See* Sugarees

Susquehannocks, 96, 97, 98

Taensas, 129, 136, 138, 143, 145, 148, 178, 179, 214, 233, 239, 248, 292 (n. 111); as chiefdom, 136–37, 146, 180, 182, 186, 188; and hierarchical leadership, 137, 186. *See also* Mississippi River valley Indians: of lower valley

Talisi, 28, 62, 66, 67, 69–71, 73, 84, 260 (n. 36), 265 (n. 5). *See also* Coosa; Tascalusa

Tallapoosas, 71, 81, 85, 112, 152, 161, 162, 163, 164, 166, 167, 168, 171, 195, 204, 205, 211, 233, 238, 241, 242, 243, 246; as slave raiders, 196, 209, 235, 236; and English, 215, 220, 221, 234, 235. *See also* Creeks

- Tangibao, 141, 142, 177. *See also* Colapissas
- Taposas, 135, 179, 216. *See also* Chakchiumas; Yazoo basin Indians
- Tascalusa, 5, 11, 26, 33, 62, 84; rise and fall of, 66–68, 69, 70, 73. *See also* Creeks; Mabila; Piachi; Talisi
- Tawasas, 85, 152, 166, 177, 221, 233, 248, 284 (n. 12). *See also* Gulf coast Indians
- Timucuaans, 78, 81, 100, 250; slave raiding of, 163; destruction of, 206–20. *See also* Spanish Florida
- Tioux, 135, 179, 190, 216, 248, 249. *See also* Yazoo basin Indians
- Tohomés, 169–72, 173, 181, 195, 196, 197, 201, 203, 204, 206, 211, 212, 213, 215, 233, 235, 246, 247, 248. *See also* Gulf coast Indians; Little Tohomés; Mobilians; Pensacola culture
- Tomahittans, 86, 100, 151
- Tombigbee chiefdoms, 31, 34, 36, 37, 61; settlement patterns of, 31–33. *See also* Chicaza
- Tonti, Henri de, 125, 126, 128, 129, 133, 136, 137–38, 139, 142, 143, 144, 146, 150, 154, 177, 178, 179, 180, 182, 183, 184, 188, 190, 196, 212, 213; and trip to Chickasaws, 197–202, 203, 226, 293 (n. 11). *See also* France; La Salle, René Robert Cavalier
- Trade Path, 97, 103, 105, 106, 155, 157, 160. *See also* Lower Trade Path; Upper Trade Path
- Tukabatchee. *See* Tallapoosas
- Tunica Indians, 129, 132–33, 135, 148, 179, 180, 181, 182, 188, 192, 216–17, 233, 247, 248, 300 (n. 1). *See also* Yazoo basin Indians
- Tunican language, 119, 133. *See also* Tunica Indians
- Tuscaroras, 102, 103, 152, 159–60, 236; and Cashie phase, 102, 103, 159; and Tuscarora War, 160, 241–42
- Tutelos, 98, 102, 103, 157, 246. *See also* Saponis; Siouan piedmont Indians
- Uchiri. *See* Ushery
- Upper Creeks. *See* Creeks
- Upper Trade Path, 153, 166, 167, 185, 195, 198, 249. *See also* Lower Trade Path; Trade Path
- Urn burials, 75, 141, 266 (n. 19), 269 (n. 37)
- Usherys, 105, 106, 107, 160, 274 (n. 56). *See also* Siouan piedmont Indians
- Uzita, 53–54
- Vacant Quarter, 41, 118, 123, 126, 130
- Virginia, 96, 97, 104, 150, 159, 160, 241; and English traders, 150, 151, 155; and Indian alliances, 155. *See also* England; Jamestown; Occaneechis; Westos
- Voyageur*. *See* *Coueurs de bois*
- Waccamaws, 108. *See also* Low country Indians
- War and peace moieties. *See* Dual political organization
- War Chief and Peace Chief. *See* Dual political organization
- Warfare, 16, 31, 41, 134, 212, 222, 224, 248; during Mississippi Period, 23, 43–53, 58; iconography of, 44, 45 (ill.), 47; and War Chiefs, 46–47, 202, 226; and Indian slave trade, 89, 92–93, 109–10, 131, 155, 184, 194–95, 199, 202–3, 211, 219, 221, 226–27, 234–35, 239, 240–41; and dual political organization, 222–31. *See also* Captives; Chicaza: battle of; Indian slave trade; Mississippian chiefdoms; Mississippian religious beliefs; Queen Anne's War; Yamasee War
- Washas, 176, 234, 247. *See also* Gulf coast Indians
- Wateree. *See* Guatari
- Waxhaws, 106, 160. *See also* Siouan piedmont Indians
- Welch, Thomas, 167, 168, 180, 182, 190, 195, 198, 216, 219, 220, 221, 233, 234, 293 (n. 11), 300 (n. 1). *See also* England: traders of; Goose Creek Men
- Westos, 86, 98, 99, 10, 102, 104, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 115, 154, 155, 161, 163, 166; and Westo War, 160, 161, 194. *See also* Indian slave trade; Militaristic slaving society; Virginia

Winyahs, 108, 160. *See also* Low country Indians

Woodward, Henry, 98, 107, 113, 154, 161, 163, 164, 165, 167. *See also* England: traders of

Yamasees, 164, 210, 220, 235, 243, 250, 251; formation of, 100; as slave raiders, 162–63, 205, 209, 236, 241; and destruction of Spanish Florida, 206–9. *See also* Altamaha; Ocuté

Yamasee War, 5, 232, 238, 242–43, 244, 246, 247, 249, 250, 255; and Indian slave trade, 232–44; and trader abuses, 238–40. *See also* Indian slave trade: demography of; Warfare: and Indian slave trade

Yanki-Chitos, 175, 217, 247. *See also* Gulf coast Indians

Yazoo basin Indians, 124, 133, 134–35, 148, 153, 176, 179, 180, 190, 216, 217, 233, 235, 247, 248. *See also* Chakchiumas; Grigras; Ibitoupas; Koroas; Mississippi River valley Indians; Napissas; Ofos; Onspees; Taposas; Tioux; Tunica Indians

Yazoos, 133, 135, 143, 179, 216, 217, 220, 221, 233, 234, 235, 239, 241, 248. *See also* Yazoo basin Indians

Yssa. *See* Esaw

Yuchis, 86, 111–12, 161, 162, 165, 166, 206, 236, 239, 241, 242, 244, 271 (n. 64), 286 (n. 38). *See also* Creeks